

STRUCTURE, IMAGE, ORNAMENT

Architectural Sculpture in the Greek World



Edited by

Peter Schultz and Ralf von den Hoff

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Structure, Image, Ornament:
Architectural Sculpture in the Greek World

Structure, Image, Ornament: Architectural Sculpture in the Greek World

*Proceedings of an international conference held at the
American School of Classical Studies, 27–28 November 2004*

Edited by
Peter Schultz and Ralf von den Hoff

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Foreword

Most of the papers in this volume are based on a conference hosted by the American School of Classical Studies, Athens and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens which ran 27–28 November 2004. It was the second conference on ancient Greek sculpture organized by the editors of this volume in cooperation with these institutions after “Early Hellenistic Portraiture: Image, Style Context” in 2002, and it was the first major conference event held in the newly finished Cotsen Hall. The purpose of the colloquium was to bring together an international team of experts in the field of architectural sculpture to discuss problems specific to this sub-field. The conference was a success – not so much because of our efforts but rather because of our superb speakers and an energetic audience. While the conference was well received, we did feel that further papers were required to fill out a proper proceedings and to cover the important field of Greek architectural sculpture as widely as needed. For this reason, we contacted Martin Bentz, Patricia Butz, Robin Osborne, Katherine Schwab, Justin St. P. Walsh, Hilda Westervelt and Lorenz Winkler-Horacek all of whom had been doing important work in the field of architectural sculpture; while these scholars were not able to present their research in Athens, we are honored by their contributions to this volume. Our further thanks go to those colleagues, who participated in the Athens conference and contributed papers to this volume. They will make this book a success. We also are indebted to Dorothy King, Vinzenz Brinkmann, Andreas Grüner, Rudolf Känel and Richard Neer, who provided contributions to the conference and highly enriched our discussions in Athens.

The conference was sponsored by the American School of Classical Studies, the Arcadia Center for Hellenic, Balkan and Mediterranean Studies, the Society for Messenian Archaeological Studies, Concordia College, Moorhead, MN, the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens and the Fritz-Thyssen-Stiftung, Cologne. The Fritz-Thyssen-Stiftung also liberally supported the publication. We are deeply indebted to Stephen Tracy, Jan Sanders, Petros Themelis, Mark Krejci and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier for their constant support for this project. Secretarial help with the manuscript was provided by Deb Hersrud at Concordia College and Silke Lauinger as well as Monika Schubert at the Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften / Klassische Archäologie der Universität Freiburg. We are also grateful to Clare Litt, Richard Purslow and, especially, David Brown for patiently supporting the production of this volume; the following text is a testament to their faith in us.

The authors’ choices in transliterating Greek has been respected in the text. English or American usage and spelling have also corresponded to authors’ preference. Bibliographic abbreviations follow the guidelines of The American Journal of Archaeology at <http://www.ajaonline.org/index.php?ptype=page&pid=8> (downloaded 15 April 2008).

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July 2008

I. STRUCTURE AND ORNAMENT

The Narratology and Theology of Architectural Sculpture, or What you can do with a Chariot but can't do with a Satyr on a Greek Temple

Robin Osborne

Introduction

One of the legacies of the Roman world is the idea that the context in which the work of art is viewed is relatively unimportant. Removing sculptures from the sanctuaries or civic spaces in which they had originally been erected and redisplaying them in quite different contexts was a Roman sport from at least the second century B.C. onwards. Grand tourists emulated the Roman élite by the way in which they removed both Roman antiquities from their original sites and Greek antiquities from their secondary Roman homes. With the growth of the universal museum in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the depredations of private individuals were made the very premise of civilizing knowledge of the world.

Academic practices have reinforced rather than undermined this belief that the work of art can and does perform its 'work' quite independently of the context in which it is viewed. The art historian's projection of dual images of works of art so that comparison can be made with works by the same or related artists, with works of the same or similar subjects, and so on, implies a fundamental dismissal of original viewing contexts. Unique works of art have their own history spun for them following methods essentially parallel to the study of the endlessly reproducible text. Yet those who study works of art have an obsession with saying something about the 'original' and regard with some curiosity those few whose interest focuses on reproductions of images.

The investment of the academy in the notion that works of art can be understood without understanding the context in which those works were first displayed is such that the bizarre nature of that assumption is rarely registered. We all of us daily determine our reactions to images by the contexts in which we view them. Images that we take for

granted on billboards would cause some surprise were we to find them framed upon walls of a friend's living room. Images which on the walls of art galleries serve only as markers of a particular era in the history of art become indicators of conservatism or trendiness when transplanted to wall of public or private buildings which are primarily devoted to other pursuits. Altarpieces invite quite different viewing when transferred from sacred to secular space.

Architectural sculpture is one of the few classes of works of art surviving from Greek antiquity for which we can reconstruct a more or less rich context. For many other objects we know nothing of their original situation, and when we know anything what we know is insufficient to offer more than minimal indication of the context of viewing: knowing that a pot was used at a symposium gets us only so far when we know nothing of the other pots in use on that occasion, of the floor and wall decoration of the room, or of the topic of conversation. In the case of sculpture from a Greek temple we may have, or hope to have, some knowledge not only of more or less the full range of sculptural imagery attached to the building, but also of the basic moves in the rituals associated with the building in the course of which the sculpture was viewed. That does not mean that much that is important is not lost – any idea of the range or disposition of votive offerings, sculptural and otherwise, for instance. But when for so much else we have no idea at all of the circumstances of viewing, architectural sculpture offers a very special resource.

In this paper I want to build on my earlier discussion of the ways in which Greek temple sculpture were viewed to look more particularly at the theology of sculptural display. In particular I want to focus attention on one peculiarly popular pedimental composition, the frontal chariot, and



Fig. 1.1 Reconstruction of the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Courtesy of Sir John Boardman.

on one curiously absent subject, the satyr, and to attempt to explain how viewing conditions made demands that were narratological – and hence theological – and led to making, and avoiding, certain particular iconographic choices.¹

The story of architectural sculpture

That the different architectural spaces in which sculpture is found on the Greek temple offer different compositional possibilities is obvious. Very flat triangular spaces, square spaces, and long thin strips invite, respectively, centrally focused compositions, balanced groups, and continuous sequences. Once these different compositional possibilities are spelt out, however, it becomes equally obvious that there are very different narrative expectations that go with these different compositional types. Pedimental space makes hierarchy unavoidable and requires both anticipation and climax, metopes fuse figures in collaboration or combat and put a premium on the discrete episode, continuous friezes invite progression and require that any partial view leaves the viewer unsatisfied. This does not necessarily mean that the same subject matter cannot be treated in the different spaces, but it does require that if the same subject is treated it is treated in very distinct ways.

The best illustration of the different possibilities and constraints of the different spaces comes from, precisely, the treatment of a single theme. Centaurs battling with Greeks (Lapiths) were shown on a pediment at Olympia, on metopes on the Parthenon, and on a continuous frieze in the temple of Apollo at Bassai.² In the pedimental version (Fig. 1.1) a central figure of Apollo is introduced who presides over the action and guarantees that there will be resolution. In the metopal version (Fig. 1.2) differently configured encounters between Centaur and Lapith and Centaur and woman encourage the viewer to compare and contrast – and encourage the viewer to seek resolution outside the sphere of the metopes altogether by considering these scenes in relation to the wider iconographic programme of the temple.³ In the frieze (Fig. 1.3), the continuity from one combat to another not only enables something of the frightening nature of a general brawl to be conveyed, but enables the viewer to be rolled on from battles between centaurs and lapiths to battles between Greeks and Amazons, startlingly reversing women from victims to aggressors and so making the



Fig. 1.2 Parthenon South pediment 29. Courtesy of Hirmer Fotoarchiv Munich (561.0120).

viewer go back to the beginning of the story and address the issues behind these combats.

In broad terms what this comparison between the three differently placed presentations of a single theme enables us to see is that while pediments focus on the end, on closure, and friezes on how a story develops, metopes encourage the close scrutiny of the particular episode, freezing the frame as in a still from a film. Comparison with other sculpted pediments, metopes and friezes offers some qualification to this broad view. The east pediment at Olympia brings out not simply the stress on closure and looking to the end of the race between Pelops and Oinomaos, but the ways in which expectation can be created by use of the particular compositional space – it is not simply the famous figure of the seer who creates a nail-biting atmosphere here, but the keen glances offered

by the river gods (Fig. 1.4) in the very extremities of the pediment. The pediments of the Parthenon use their extremities less to create expectation than to suggest a (local, on the west, or cosmological, on the east) framework, and while the east pediment's birth of Athena is a triumphant conclusion, the central battle of Athena and Poseidon in the west pediment, with its diverging figures, seems deliberately to deny the closure that the compositional space demands. If the episodic dominates metopes it too offers itself for deconstruction as the viewer is teased by whether or not to link metopes which look

towards one another (the archery of Apollo and Artemis in one *Foce del Sele* metope aiming at Tityos carrying off Leto in the next). If the friezes of the Athena Nike temple encouraged telling the story of the unfolding of various battles, the frieze of the Parthenon seems rather poorly described as encouraging interest in sequence (Fig. 1.5). But the position of the Parthenon frieze arguably seriously complicates the issue: the view through the external colonnade is necessarily fragmented, framed in a uniquely flexible and viewer-determined way, so that the constraints approach in some ways those of metopes and



Fig. 1.3 Bassai, temple of Apollo, frieze slab 524. Courtesy of the British Museum.

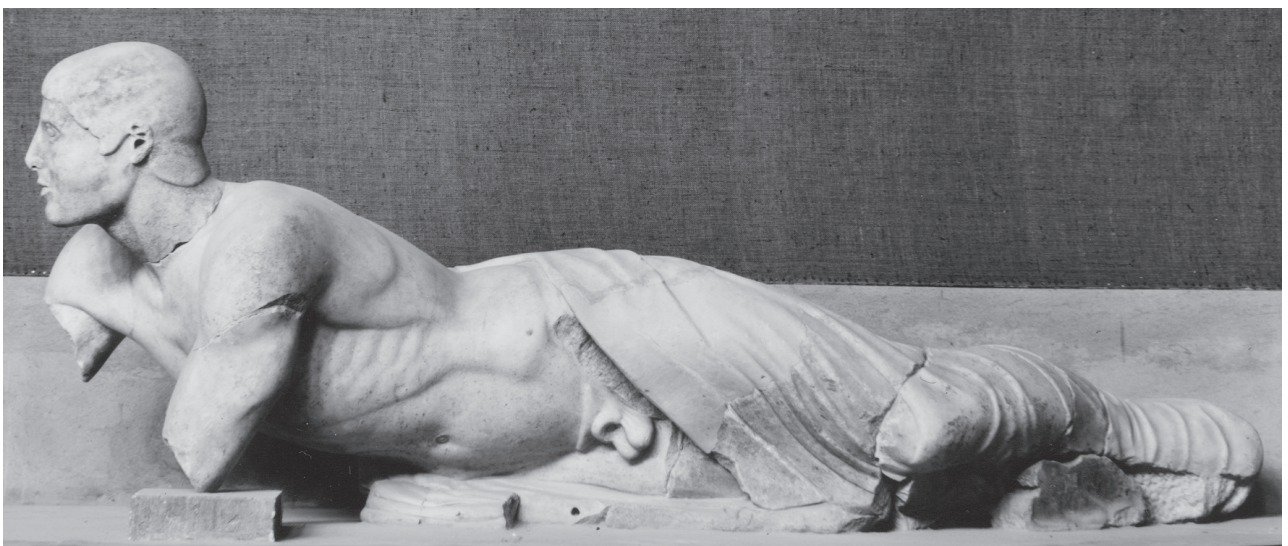


Fig. 1.4 The so-called Kladeos from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Courtesy Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich (561.0660).



Fig. 1.5 The west frieze of the Parthenon in situ. Courtesy of Hirmer Fotoarchiv Munich (562.0557).

the continuous scanning possible with other friezes, or in the British Museum display and on CD reconstructions, was blocked.⁴

It is worth looking back at these examples not taking the viewpoint of spectators, appreciating the consequences of artists' choices, but from the viewpoint of the artist making the choice. Faced with the possibility of devising a sculptural scheme for a temple, how did an artist or group of artists decide what scene to place where? Might the Olympia sculptors have decided to have two Heracles episodes on the pediments and to devote the metopes to lapiths and centaurs? Heracles stories offer plenty of scope for closure, and the metopes suggest that drawing attention to Heracles' achievement done was one of the things the artist wished to do (e.g. in the presentation of the Stymphalian birds to Athena, Fig. 1.6). But to have preferred the successful conclusion of a single labour would have been to have sacrificed the possibilities of impressing the relentlessness of the labours, their variety and the consistent need of Heracles for divine support, which comes out of the structure of comparison and contrast created by the metopes. Pelops' race with Oinomaos might itself have been figured in a metope, but only at the cost of reducing it to one episode among many and of sacrificing the emphasis on suspense. The effect achieved in the west pediment of the Parthenon similarly depends precisely on deferring the closure which the compositional space leads one to suspect: no presentation

of the struggle between Athena and Poseidon on metope or frieze could create a comparable sense of unfinished business. Sculptors and architects work together, it seems, to exploit the constraints and possibilities created by the different spaces for sculpture on a temple both in order to render stories recognisable and to introduce elements of the unexpected or of tension into well-known stories.

To suggest, however, that narratological issues were all that influenced sculptors' choice of position for a particular scene is to ignore the *theological* importance of what is shown on a temple and how it is shown. The decision to defer Athena's moment of victory on the west pediment of the Parthenon was a decision which had theological implications. Poseidon was not the sort of threat to civilized life which needed to be eliminated by a culture hero, he was a divinity whose patronage did not cease to be welcome, for all Athena's precedence in Athens. Pelops' dubious victory over Oinomaos was equally not some decisive defeat of good over evil, but an episode in an on-going and not so very attractive saga. That saga was too central to Olympia both as place and as institution to be ignored, but its celebration was only appropriate if at the same time reassurance that behind the unpleasantness of human competition some divine plan or justice could be reckoned to prevail. The closure which the pedimental composition offers is not the moment at which Oinomaos bites the dust and Pelops gets his bride, it is Zeus' taking charge of the institutionalised competition to ensure, in the

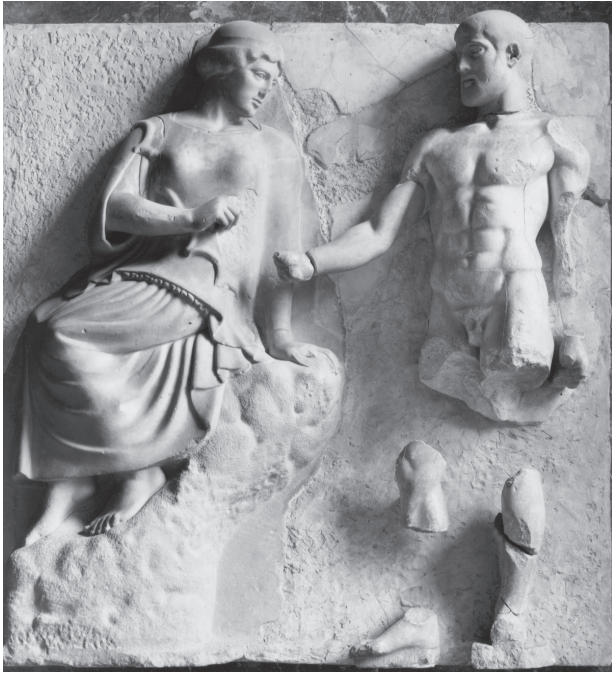


Fig. 1.6 Presentation of Stymphalian birds by Heracles to Athena, metope from temple of Zeus at Olympia. Courtesy of Hirmer Fotoarchiv Munich (561.1043).

scheme of divine justice, even if not always obviously in the scheme of human justice, that it is conducted by fair means not foul. To have preferred Athena's assistance to Heracles as the culmination of a pedimental scene of one of the labours would have been theologically inadequate, not simply because this is a temple of Zeus but because while Heracles' labours might operate as useful parallels to feats of athletic endurance they could not provide an image for the divine concern with proper conduct at the festival as a whole.

It is the theology of architectural sculpture that I want to address in the rest of this paper. I do so by addressing two puzzles, one involving what is and one what is not shown. I begin with a puzzling presence, the popularity in sixth-century architectural sculpture of the frontal chariot of a god.⁵

The popularity of the frontal chariot

The puzzle about the frontal chariot is two-fold. Firstly, it is effectively narrative free. Secondly, it is extraordinarily difficult to portray. Given that there is no compelling story that this form of representation serves to tell and that there is no easy manner of portraying a chariot frontally, why does such a presentation prove attractive? The attractions of representing a chariot in profile are clear, particularly in a frieze: it provides a very marked and effective directional impetus while also enabling a figure or figure to be picked out from a mass of figures who are walking or riding. It helps, in this way, provide hierarchy without interrupting



Fig. 1.7 Metope representing frontal chariot of Apollo, Artemis and Leto from Temple C at Selinus. Courtesy of Hirmer Fotoarchiv Munich (601.3001).

the lateral flow of the composition. It is not a surprise, therefore, to find profile views of chariots appearing in the sixth century in sculptural fragments from the Athenian acropolis, in friezes from Delphi, in reliefs from Cyzicus and Myous, and so on. But the frontal chariot has none of these obvious advantages. Yet the frontal chariot appeared both on the Greek mainland and in Sicily. In Sicily it appeared on the metopes of both Temple Y (c.550–530) and Temple C (c.530–510) at Selinus (Fig. 1.7), and on the mainland it appeared in one pediment of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and perhaps in both.

Frontality is a prominent feature of archaic metopal sculpture. The very fact that a metope, unlike a continuous frieze or a pediment, can be taken in at a glance encourages mutual reflexivity between the viewer and the sculpture, and the exploitation of the unroving eye of the viewer by facing him or her with an unroving eye in turn. This is a trope particularly fully explored on the Selinus temples.⁶ Temple Y features a frontal Zeus-cow carrying Europa and a frontal Apollo with lyre together with Leto and Artemis who were perhaps also frontal – the heads are now lost (Fig. 1.8). In Temple C the viewer was faced with rows of frontal faces both in the representation of the beheading of the gorgon (Fig. 1.9), in which Athena, Perseus and Medusa were all show frontal (putting the viewer into the position of the mirror into which Perseus looks to guide his beheading), and in the scene of Heracles carrying off the Cercopes (albeit the frontal faces of the Cercopes are



Fig. 1.8 Metope representing Apollo, Artemis and Leto from Temple Y at Selinus. Courtesy of Hirmer Fotoarchiv Munich (601.3017).



Fig. 1.9 Metope representing Perseus beheading the gorgon Medusa from Temple C at Selinus. Courtesy of Hirmer Fotoarchiv Munich (572.0435).

upside down, which somewhat changes their impact, Fig. 1.10). But the evident attraction of frontality displayed by the decision to present these scenes of action with frontal faces nevertheless does little to explain why the scene of gods in frontal chariot appeared in both temples.

In some ways, indeed, the other frontal faces in the Selinous metopes make the frontal chariot harder to understand. What those other metopes with frontal faces show is that action scenes from myths could be very satisfactorily rendered with frontal faces. The frontal face of the Zeus-cow in the Europa scene serves to extend to the viewer the invitation to which Europa has succumbed – to join the cow as it romps off to greener pastures. The frontal faces of Heracles and the Cercopes register the finality of Heracles' success – these are enemy who are now going nowhere – along with Heracles' own concern that the viewer notice his achievements. The advantages of frontality to convey divine epiphany are well displayed in the scene of Apollo, Leto and Artemis in the metope from Temple Y. The three gods are rendered easily recognisable by their attributes (lyre, wreath, bow), and the viewer is brought face to face with their presence.

What, then, do the frontal chariots do so much better as to make that a scene which is repeated in both sets of metopes? One way of approaching this question is to



Fig. 1.10 Metope representing Heracles carrying off the Cercopes from Temple C at Selinus. Courtesy of Hirmer Fotoarchiv Munich (572.0433).

consider the relationship of the scene to the experiences of daily life. The scenes of Europa and Heracles invite the viewer to note what is happening as it passes by. There is a strong directional thrust from left to right which the frontal gazes do little to arrest. The viewer is being privileged with a glimpse of heroic achievement or divine intervention in the human world, but only a glimpse as the action passes on. The scenes of the beheading of the Gorgon and of Apollo, Artemis and Leto are different. In as far as there is action it is happening in front of us and for us. Neither the profile legs of Apollo nor those of Perseus seriously threaten to move the action on out of our view. We are invited not to glimpse but to gaze, and what we are invited to gaze upon, indeed in the case of the scene of the gorgon to reflect, is supernatural power. The power of the gorgon head will be appropriated by Athena for her aegis. The power of Leto's children is displayed in their attributes, the lyre and the bow. In later Athenian vases frontality and music often go together, and it is probably appropriate to link Apollo's frontality here with the charming, head-turning, power of music.

But if the frontality seen in other metopes can be construed in terms of the experiences of a spectator of daily life, reflection on daily experiences only adds to the puzzle presented by the frontal chariot. For the frontal chariot puts the viewer into a position in which there seems to be an invitation to gaze – this chariot is not going to pass out of view – but where the most that can be risked is a glimpse: the viewer must absent him or herself fast if they are not to be run over. This fantasy appropriation of the experiences of life to the experiences of viewing immediately reveals the attractions held by the frontal chariot: standing frontal figures cannot be given motion except laterally. Faced with the triad of deities on the metope from Temple Y one can stand and contemplate with equanimity. Faced with the frontal chariot with perhaps the same triad of divinities on Temple C, equanimity is not a possibility. The presence of the horses, for all that their legs are straight, guarantees that there will be forward motion. In Temple Y such forward motion seems to be enhanced by the 'salute' given by the central deity, and the curious 'heraldic' horses which frame the chariot on either side seem further to guarantee that spirited motion can be expected.

Frontality in metopal sculptures encourages engagement. It encourages the viewer to pause and to register what the episode is. It prevents a scene from being simply subsumed into the whole run of metopal scenes. There are, of course, other ways in which sculptural composition can be manipulated on metopes to encourage the viewer to linger – scenes whose thrust is from left to right may be juxtaposed to scenes whose thrust is from right to left in order to encourage the viewing of the scenes as a pair. But frontality breaks down the distance between viewer and sculpture: the viewer does not simply pause to contemplate, but has to place him- or herself in relationship to the scene. It is in this context that the frontal chariot has a unique impact. For the frontal chariot

not only puts the viewer into the eye-line of the gods who ride upon it, but it puts the viewer into the very path of the gods. The gods threaten to come upon the viewer, to involve the viewer in their action, they face the viewer with having to decide whether the gods will see him or her and take the appropriate action, or will choose to look right through the viewer and ignore him or her.⁷

But metopal chariot groups also offer the viewer a get-out. The very sequence of metopes creates choice. As metopes come in series which the viewer cannot but compare and contrast, so the viewer can move on from contemplating one to contemplating another. Faced with the gods coming upon them, viewers can move on or back, dodge right or left, get out of the path. This manifestation of the gods becomes one of many. The gods' hand may be seen in the actions of culture heroes or in the powers or weapons of war or instruments of music as well as in their imminent presence.

Not so with the pedimental chariot group. Visitors to Delphi who approached the late archaic (Alcmaeonid) temple of Apollo found Apollo heading in their direction in his chariot from the centre of the pediment (Fig. 1.11). No approach to the temple was possible except by coming face to face with the imminent presence of the god. The corners of the pediment with their figures of lions attacking deer from behind offered not so much a comforting image familiar from decades of orientalisising painted pottery as a figure of being struck by unexpected power of an order impossible to deal with. The figures that immediately flanked the god's chariot, korai-like maidens on one side, men on the other, offered images of collaborative votaries. The worshippers approaching the temple, with the god coming upon them, were faced with a choice that was no choice.

It is attractive to think, although far from certain, that the west pediment of the temple repeated the trope with variations. A gigantomachy certainly occupied much of the pediment, but the centre may again have had a chariot group, in this case perhaps with Zeus in the central chariot. Here it is not beasts but giants who provide the image of what it might be to refuse the gods. Here again the prospect of being ridden down by divine power which concentrated the worshipper's mind.

If frontal chariots in sequences of metopes were attractive because they offered a distinctive view of divine power and intervention, and in particular a distinctive view of the imminence of divine intervention to the life of the individual worshipping viewer, frontal chariots in pediments were even less comfortable to view. However awesome the cult statue in the temple of Apollo may have been – and the chryselephantine fragments from Delphi suggest that the encounter with some images of Apollo at Delphi may have been awe-inspiring in the extreme – the cult statue on its own could not at the same time convey all the qualities that set the gods apart.⁸ To convey divine power demanded both offering a narrative and making that a narrative that did not simply pass the worshipper by. No myth of Apollo demanded his appearance in a chariot,



Fig. 1.11 The central figures from the east pediment of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Courtesy of Hirmer Fotoarchiv Munich (592.0504).

and frontal chariots were in any case the very worst way of presenting an on-going story – for the centre of the pediment was necessarily the climax. What the frontal chariot in the pediment did was to create a story for which there was no mythology and which could not pass the worshipper by – it could not pass the worshipper by both because there was no known story which the worshipper could fill in and because there was no way in which the worshipper could prevent the next act of the story being determined by his or her own action.

If the problem which has to be addressed in the case of the frontal chariot of the gods is why such a scene was attractive in the archaic period, the problem which I want to address in the final part of the paper concerns not a presence but an absence. Why do satyrs make so minimal an appearance in temple sculpture?

The unpopularity of the satyr

From their first appearance on painted pottery in the early sixth century satyrs are one of the most popular subjects for graphic artists, continuing in favour through the fifth and into the fourth century in Attic vase painting (Fig. 1.12). This continuity of popularity is matched by no other figure on Athenian pots except the satyr's nymph or maenad.⁹ Satyrs are frequent companions of the god Dionysus, appearing with that god both when he is shown in a ritual context and also when he is shown in some scene familiar from mythology – this latter despite the fact that satyrs are virtually never mentioned in texts which describe the exploits of Dionysus.

Satyrs are related to centaurs in as far as both are hybrid creatures, part human and part equine. Satyrs have

the ears, tail and sometimes the feet of a horse, centaurs a horse's body, tail and legs but a fully human head and torso. Centaurs have no particular association with any god and apart from the solo wise centaur Cheiron, the educator of Achilles, and the individual would-be rapist Nessos, attempting to run off with Heracles' wife after he has transported her across a river, they appear in only two contexts – discovering wine and becoming drunk and disorderly in the company of Heracles at the cave of Pholos and disrupting the marriage feast of Peirithoos by their drunken assaults on the women at the wedding. Drunkenness and lechery are similarly the constant associates of the satyrs, whose attentions to maenads are variously received.

As we have already seen, sculptors found centaurs good to think with in various contexts in sanctuaries, and the story of the disruption of the marriage feast of Peirithoos proved a narrative which could be effectively treated in all three of the available spaces for architectural sculpture, pediment, metope, and frieze. We might expect that satyrs, more closely associated with a god but otherwise possessing similar attributes to the centaurs, would prove equally popular in temple sculpture. But the contrary is the case. There are indeed some representations of satyrs in temple sculpture, but satyrs find a place in no major sculptural programme.

The small temple of Dionysus at Athens in the sixth century had a pediment featuring a procession of satyrs and women (Athens NM 3131). The condition of the piece makes it hard to determine the details of the figures or the composition. Both music and sexual excitement seem to have been figured, but without any distinct narrative; very little may have been made of the pedimental composition,



Fig. 1.12 Athenian black-figure column crater attributed to Lydos, showing the return of Hephaistos to Olympus escorted by Dionysus, satyrs and maenads. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Fletcher Fund 1931 (31.11.11).

and in the absence of a narrative no resolution may have been required from or offered by the central scene.

Satyrs appeared in one most unusual place for architectural sculpture – the ‘drum’ capitals of the Caryatids of the Siphnian Treasury. One of the Caryatid capitals showed a procession of women and musicians. The other, which is unfortunately not well preserved, included a satyr carrying off a female figure. The field which the drums offer is essentially a frieze, but one with no certain starting or finishing point or centre. Even more than the Ionic frieze this is a space for repeated similar action without any element of narrative, sequence indifferent to order and without climax or closure.

Satyrs featured too in the circular frieze of the choregic monument of Lysicrates, created to celebrate a dithyrambic victory in Athens in 335/4.¹⁰ This frieze alluded to the myth told in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos* about the god being captured by pirates whom he proceeds to turn into dolphins. Satyrs make no appearance in the Hymn, or in the sixth-century representation of Dionysus sailing surrounded by dolphins on a cup by Exekias which seems to allude to the Hymn, but in this frieze they assist the god, providing a way of extending the field of action of the single god around the whole of the length of the frieze. There is a narrative here, but it is a narrative consisting of a single event repeated many times: Dionysus and the satyrs engage with the pirates in struggles which end up with the pirates being delphinated. The struggle goes on and on and round and round and there is no end or climax.

Satyrs are to be found in some other public sculpture. One of the archaic gateways of the city wall of the town of Thasos was decorated with a relief of a sexually excited (‘alert’ as Boardman coyly says) satyr carrying a kantharos.¹¹ The fifth-century terrace of Building G at Xanthos showed satyrs as well as animals (London BM B 292). The Thasos satyr is a lone figure, clearly Dionysiac and perhaps regarded as a suitable guardian of a gateway because situated between the wild world of the countryside and the civilised world of the town. The Xanthos satyrs seem to be chosen precisely because providing a complete object of interest in themselves – rather like the lion attacking deer motif found among the animals that accompany them. In these contexts where a single symbol is required the satyr proves good to think with.

The demands of temple sculpture, however, were different. Peculiar spaces like the drum capitals of the Siphnian Treasury Caryatids apart, the classic spaces for sculptural decoration all require figures which point beyond themselves, which in one way or another link with other figures. In metopes those links may be thematic – almost anything which may be productively compared or contrasted. In friezes the links require fitting into some sort of sequence. In pediments there needs to be meaningful closure and so the possibility of a definitive story.

Satyrs were not the central actors in any myth. Fifth-century Athenian satyr plays burlesqued myths by having them played on stage by satyrs, but this insertion of satyrs into any myth was possible largely because satyrs had no

strong association with particular myths. Satyrs on pots are simply company for Dionysus, even when there is a story about Dionysus that is being told. Nothing in these scenes turns on the satyrs, whose role is essentially to enlarge upon the sphere of the Dionysiac and to gloss ecstatic behaviour. This contrasts strongly with centaurs, who have central parts to play in all the stories in which they appear.

The storylessness of the satyr may be enough in itself to explain why he never becomes popular in pedimental and frieze sculpture, but it does not obviously immediately explain the satyr's absence from metopes. If an individual centaur running off with a lapith woman is a suitable subject for a metope, why is a satyr's more or less hostile relationship to a female figure not equally suitable? One might expect that the satyr's relations with women, which were evidently good to think with in the symposion, where they are figured on so many drinking cups, would be as good to think with in the sanctuary as were those of the centaur.

Two features of the satyr's behaviour set him apart from the centaur. The excesses of the centaur are firmly located on occasions when implicit contracts to the contrary have been formed. The rowdiness that breaks out when Pholos entertains Heracles breaches the implicit rules about the entertainment of guests. The assault upon the women at the wedding of Peirithoos breaches the rules for the proper behaviour of invited guests. The attempt to rape Deianeira by Nessos threatens the marriage bond between Deianeira and Heracles and breaches the trust which Heracles has placed in Nessos as a ferryman. In all these cases what is at issue is not simply bad behaviour to an individual, but threats to accepted social norms. There is nothing trivial about the misbehaviour of the centaur; rather, that misbehaviour questions what it is to live as a man. The satyr, by contrast, is always the wayward individual, looking to take his own chances and facing up to the particular consequences. The context in which the satyr tries his luck is never articulated, the absence of a story means that the satyr's place against the norms of humane society is never registered.

The centaur is capable not merely of not behaving excessively but of being a model of civilisation. The centaur Cheiron is the educator *par excellence*. Cheiron is the guarantee that centaurs know what to do, that there is a civilised alternative to their transgressive behaviour. Indeed, without Cheiron it would be hard to explain how centaurs could ever come to be entrusted with the ferrying of a young wife or invited to a wedding party. But although we do have one named satyr, Silenus, there is no civilised satyr. Lack of control is from the beginning part of what it is to be a satyr, and signalled in their express lack of sexual control. Whereas transgression forms the climax of the centaur's story precisely because the centaur might have behaved differently, excess and absence of control are the norm and default mode for satyrs. No story is created by satyric excess because excessive behaviour, and not merely the potential for excessive behaviour, is

part of the satyric character. Unlike centaurs satyrs need no excuse.

The non-excessive satyr was, of course, begging to be invented, and in due course this occurred. Athenian painted pottery of the middle of the fifth century creates the satyr-citizen, in his citizen himation, and the satyr family, playing leapfrog and rolling hoops.¹² These figures are good to think with in the Athenian symposion precisely because they play off the satyr who has no self control and no stable relationships. But these civilised satyrs can never perform for the satyr the role that Cheiron plays for the centaurs, for the akratic satyr remains the type and never becomes the perversion of the type.

The nature of the satyr has both narratological and theological implications. It has narratological implications because satyric actions necessarily have no order or control. Satyrs first appear in literature as 'useless and reckless' (Hesiod, *Catalogue of Women* fr. 10.18 West). Stories demand that the reader's expectations can be built up, for without any expectations there can be no suspense and no climax. But satyrs' random actions allow no expectations. But the recklessness and irresponsibility of the satyr has theological implications too, for if the gods give the world anything they give it order, they ensure that there is a connection between actions and results, they guarantee the framework necessary to civil society. Satyrs stand outside that order. In as far as they have a theological place it is as the image of a disordered world – but a world whose disorder is entirely purposeless. Within the context of individual relations, of the private world of the symposion, wine relaxes inhibitions, and there are attractions in satyric disorder. There is something tempting about acting as if the story of one's relationship with the others who form one's immediate company does not continue beyond this moment, of simply 'seizing the day'. But civil society depends upon the guarantee which memory provides that no moment can be exempted from history, that relationships have a past and a future. In the public world of the temple the temptations of irresponsibility must always be denied. The world of the gods as well as the world of the city state must always insist that anarchy is not a possible human condition.

Conclusion

The different fields which temples provided for sculptural decoration offered different possibilities for the telling of stories. Or rather, they demanded scenes with different narrative structures. This was not simply a matter of the actions of different myths providing a better fit for the episodic metope, the hierarchical pediment or the continuous flow of the frieze. The narrative demands and requirements of these spaces could relate not simply to enabling the viewer to narrate a tale about third parties but also to the ways in which a viewer was encouraged or obliged to include him or herself within the narrative told.

One of the most obvious ways in which the viewer was written into the myth displayed on a temple was by the use of the frontal face. This trope is found in pediments, metopes and friezes, but it was particularly suitable for, and most frequently found in, metopes. The encounter between viewer and god, hero or monster required the viewer to pass judgement, and precluded passing by as if heroic and monstrous actions and the role of the gods belonged to a different world.

The importance of the worshipper at a temple being made to face up to his or her position in the world and to how that related to the gods comes out very clearly both from the decision to represent a scene whose immediate artistic attractions are not obvious – the frontal chariot driven by a god or gods – and from the decision not to represent a scene which attracted many artists in different media – scenes which include satyrs. The frontal chariot obliged the worshipper not so much to engage with a myth as to face up to the imminence of divine power and to the way in which the encounter of god and mortal was not a matter of a mythical past but of a potential day-to-day intervention of gods into the path of every mortal. The force of the frontal chariot was particularly overpowering when the chariot occupied the centre of a temple pediment. This was not simply due to its scale and dominating position, but to the way in which the pedimental composition made what was central the climax of a story. The viewer expected to find at the centre of the pediment resolution of the story, but by turning outward towards the viewer the chariot scene deferred resolution and made that resolution depend upon the viewing worshipper. The divine power so directly manifested in such a pedimental scene was bearable only on the premise that it was not random but part of a cosmic order. Transgressions of that order and their punishment were positively good to think with theologically, but the one type of life that could not be coped with theologically was the life that was lived at random, recklessly and with no regard to consequences. Such a life was the life of the satyr. Rich though the resources of the self-obsessed satyr were for the fantasies of the symposium, the satyr satisfied none of the narratological or theological demands of temple sculpture. Not only did satyrs not themselves offer any resolution, they offered no path to resolution, and so had no place on pediments. The randomness and recklessness of satyric actions guaranteed that no sequence could be created from their actions, and the only friezes which might contemplate their presence were circular. Even for purposes of comparison and contrast the satyr offered little scope, for these figures who had no past, no particular stories that their presence evoked, offered no particular life for comparison. Close though the god Dionysus and his gifts might approach to liberation from worldly constraints, the satyr's gay abandon embodied an irresponsibility which representations of Dionysus never impute to the god and which was theologically not a place to which a worshipper could be directed.

Scholars have often been chary of writing about the theology of the Greeks. Analytic theology is indeed hard to find, but the narrative of Greek mythology both requires and implies a particular understanding of the gods. The different spaces for sculpture on Greek temples demanded scenes structured by different sorts of narrative. In doing so they both exercised a censorship over what could be shown that effectively excluded what theology could not admit and gave a force to the encounter with the gods which no mere reader of mythology could ever experience.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

- 1 Osborne 2000. Note also Ridgway 1999.
- 2 For a discussion with rather different interests see Osborne 1994a.
- 3 That iconographic programme has been much less frequently discussed as a whole than one would expect. Castriota 1992 probably represents the prevailing view. For my own views see Osborne 1994b.
- 4 This aspect of the frieze was first brought out by Stillwell and further developed by me in 1987. For brief recent discussion see Ridgway 1999: 81–2. For CD reconstruction see Neils 2001.
- 5 The organisation and abundant illustration of Boardman's handbooks on Greek sculpture make them a convenient place to review the claims which follow. See especially Boardman 1978 ch.7 and Boardman 1995 ch.9.
- 6 The Selinous metopes are most recently discussed by Marconi 2007. He addresses the issue of frontality particularly at 214–22, the frontal chariots at 103–7 and 138–42.
- 7 Compare Marconi 2007 222 (his penultimate paragraph): 'The frontal faces of the protagonists of our metopes are now more than a mere avenue for the introduction of the observers into the narrative. They are part of an aggressive attempt to transform the viewers, increasing their sense of *mysterium tremendum* upon their encounter with the sacred.'
- 8 On the remains of chryselephantine statues found in the Halos deposit at Delphi see Lapatin 2001: 57–60.
- 9 The representation of satyrs has been much discussed in recent years. Note especially Carpenter 1986, Carpenter 1997, and Hedreen 1992.
- 10 Ehrhardt 1993 with Schultz 2007a, 223 nn. 143–45.
- 11 Boardman 1978 caption to fig. 223. See also Walsh in this volume.
- 12 A good collection of relevant material can be found in Bérard and Bron 1989. For the satyr family see the crater by the Niobid Painter, now in the British Museum, ARV² 601.23.

Back to the Second Century B.C.: New Thoughts on the Date of the Sculptured Coeffers from the Temple of Athena Polias, Priene

Peter Higgs

When the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene, western Turkey, was first excavated in 1868–9, large amounts of architectural and free-standing sculptures were discovered. The majority of them were found within the area of the temple of Athena Polias and around the altar. Many of these ended up in the British Museum, while others headed for Berlin and Istanbul.¹ Further excavations undertaken by Wiegand and Schrader from 1895–8 brought to light numerous more fragments of sculpture.² When the material returned to the British Museum, joins were made and compositions started to emerge, although the sculptures were still fragmentary. The similarities in style, scale and technique of some of the relief sculptures, however, showed that they belonged to the same architectural scheme and so were presumably from one particular monument. The careful assembly of these reliefs led to major themes being recognised; a Gigantomachy and an Amazonomachy, with the latter subject being less frequently represented by the fragments of sculpture.

At first it was not the date of the sculptures that puzzled scholars as it has done in recent years. Instead the archaeologists could not agree as to which building or monument the reliefs decorated within the sanctuary of Athena Polias: it was unclear whether they formed part of a continuous frieze on the temple, altar or another structure. It took several decades for their real function to be discovered, as sculptured coffer lids. Most attention, however, was given to the temple's architecture, as it was considered one of the finest surviving examples of the Ionic order. The architecture has been the subject of extensive study and controversy, as scholars cannot agree about the chronological stages of the temple's construction; the temple does not appear to have been built in one phase. The question of when the roof of the

temple was completed is crucial to the arguments over the date of the sculptured ceiling coffers. Furthermore, do the surviving fragments show an uniformity in style that suggest that they all belong to one phase of carving? If the answer is yes, then when were they carved, with the first phase of the temple's construction in the fourth century B.C. or later, in either the third or second centuries B.C.? Even if a definite answer cannot be established, this provides an excellent opportunity for revisiting these little-known, high quality, architectural sculptures. A brief summary of the diverging views of architectural historians who have studied the temple's remains is essential if we are to understand the nature of the architectural context of the reliefs. It is also important to outline the diverging views of Greek sculpture specialists who have made their cases for a variety of dates. Then a study of a selection of the surviving coffer panels will hopefully demonstrate the reasons for dating the reliefs to the second century B.C., which is the main purpose of this paper. It is not possible here to illustrate or analyse all of the surviving fragments of sculpture; this was done by Carter in his excellent catalogue of sculpture from Priene, published in 1983.

The chronological phases of the temple's construction

The city of Priene appears to have been re-founded in its current location some time in the mid-fourth century B.C., and some sources suggest that either the Athenians or Maussollos of Karia were in some way responsible. Alexander the Great has even been mentioned as a possible instigator of the city's relocation. Archaeological excavations have not revealed any substantial traces of earlier habitation of the current site of Priene, and there

was certainly no temple of Athena on the site prior to that begun around the middle of the fourth century B.C. The temple was, according to Vitruvius (1.1.12), built by Pytheos who, if this was the case, would have worked there shortly after his involvement with the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos around 350 B.C. Pytheos may have been the court architect of Maussollos and of later members of the Hekatomnid dynasty, but this is unfounded in the archaeological or literary evidence. There are, however, significant similarities between the architectural details of the Athena temple and the Mausoleum, which suggests at least some of the same designers and masons at work. The use of, or at least planning of, carved coffer lids would connect the architectural schemes of the two buildings further. The architectural evidence, however, may suggest that Pytheos did not live to see the completion of the temple of Athena at Priene.

A thorough study of all surviving architectural fragments of the temple led by German archaeologists concludes that there were at least two construction phases and maybe even a third during the Augustan period.³ The earliest scholar to suggest that there was more than one construction phase was Schede, who suggested an initial fourth-century phase, that saw most of the eastern end of the building completed, with the rest of the temple completed around the middle of the second century B.C.⁴ His dates were based on the differences he detected in workmanship. He notes the finer quality of carving found at the eastern end of the temple compared with coarser workmanship at the western end. Schede claimed that the poorer quality of the architectural fragments from the western end compared favourably with that found on other late Hellenistic buildings.

More recently, further research into the architectural mouldings and elements, particularly by Koenigs, has developed Schede's theories, and now most scholars agree that there was a gap in construction. What they cannot agree upon is how long the hiatus was. Koenig's observations were published in an article in 1983, where he claims that most of the coffer frames belonged to the second phase of the temple's construction, which he tentatively dates to the second century B.C.⁵ Koenigs also discovered the so-called Pytheos sketch that appeared to prove that the roof had been planned at an early stage, and along with the roof, the coffers of course.⁶ That the architect would plan the roof is obvious, but whether he saw it completed is another matter. Furthermore, even if the carved coffer frames were in place, it does not necessarily mean that sculptured coffer lids would have to be in place. If the actual roof was still a temporary one the carved coffers lids could have been added at any time until a permanent tiled roof was begun. Koenigs proposed that maybe only a third of the eastern end of the temple was rooved during the first phase of the temple's construction in the fourth century B.C., with the remainder left unfinished until a later period. Both Koenigs and Carter, however, claimed that even though there was a gap in construction, the carved coffers lids were all carved

at one period during the initial fourth-century phase. The coffer lids would then have been ready to install when parts of the roof were completed.

Rumsheid also analysed the architectural mouldings and published his conclusions in 1994.⁷ He also came to the conclusion that the western end of the temple was completed later than the east, and agreed with Carter and Koenigs that the coffers may have been prepared and carved during the earlier phase but not erected until the second century B.C. Carter preferred there to be only a short gap, with most of the temple completed early in the third century B.C. Koenigs and Rumsheid's later date for the temple's completion would have left the completed coffers lids lying in store somewhere on site for almost two hundred years. This latter view seems rather incredulous and, as we shall see later, the style of the carved coffers lids suggest that perhaps they were not carved until they were ready to be installed, that is in the middle of the second century B.C. If we are to believe, however, that there were two phases of construction, one in the fourth and a gap of about two hundred years until the middle of the second century B.C., then who was responsible for paying for the work. Some epigraphic and numismatic evidence may throw some light on this dilemma.

The initial construction phase in the fourth century B.C.

An inscribed anta block forming part of the walls of the pronaos at the east end of the temple, preserves a large inscription recording the dedication of the temple of Athena Polias by Alexander the Great. It is not clear whether Alexander actually visited the city or not, but if he did it was likely to have been after the Battle of Granikos in 334 B.C. when much of the eastern end of the temple was probably completed.⁸ It was during this year that the Hekatomnid dynast Ada, the sister and successor of Maussollos, is said to have adopted Alexander which led to her restoration to power. As already mentioned it is generally believed that Priene was both founded and, in all likelihood, patronised by the Hekatomnid dynasty, and a well-known portrait head of a woman, usually identified as Ada was found in the ruins of the temple, now in the British Museum.⁹ Other Karian-style royal portraits have been found at Priene, one other in the sanctuary of Athena, and two in the sanctuary of Demeter. All these portraits seem connected in style and possibly function.¹⁰ Alexander the Great's dedication, however, does not necessarily prove that the whole temple was completed. He may instead have contributed financially or at least attached his name to a great building in the process of being constructed.

Another name associated with the temple is Megabyzos of Ephesos. His name was carved onto a stele set up on front of the temple, recording honours bestowed upon him for 'completing' the temple, including the erection of a bronze statue.¹¹ The letter forms have been dated by Gaertringen to the 340s, about the period of the Alexander

inscription, but more recently to about 290 B.C. by Crowther.¹² Carter assumes that if a prominent dedication was set up in front of the temple of Athena, consisting of a statue and honorary inscription, the temple could not have been only one third completed. Bearing these dedications in mind, it would appear peculiar for dedications to be made by prominent people if the temple was not complete. On the other hand, as already noted, the style of the architectural mouldings suggest more of a variation in date. It does not seem to be totally out of the question that dedications were made in front of the finished, eastern façade of the temple, while the middle and rear part remained partially unfinished. The only evidence for a possible third century phase of the temple's construction is the down-dating of the inscription honouring Megabyzos. A fourth century B.C. date may still apply and Megabyzos could be in some way connected with Alexander the Great. Perhaps Alexander instructed him to pay for the naos of the temple that is thought to have been virtually complete during the first phase of construction. Funds may have been used from the treasury housed within the temple of Artemis at Ephesos.¹³

A construction phase in the second century B.C.

The second phase of construction has been placed by several architectural historians in the middle decades of the second century B.C. This has always caused a problem amongst scholars, because they are not clear why building work resumed or indeed under whose instigation. By far the most cited name associated with the continuation of the building project is King Orophernes of Cappadocia (ruled 158–156 B.C.). After the death of King Ariarathes IV in 163 B.C. a struggle for the throne broke out between two of his sons, Ariarathes V and Orophernes. During these times of uncertainty, Orophernes deposited 400 *talents* of silver (about ten tonnes) with the citizens of Priene for safe-keeping. It could have been some of Orophernes' money that was used for the completion of the temple of Athena. Because the citizens of Priene had safe-guarded his money, Orophernes may have rewarded their loyalty by contributing funds for several monuments in the city including a stoa. Of more significance was the alleged discovery of a number of silver tetradrachms of Orophernes around the base of the cult statue in the temple.¹⁴ In 1983 Carter had dated the cult statue of Athena Polias to the second century B.C. but was not convinced that Orophernes had financed the statue. He claims that the coins found around the base are not proof that Orophernes had either paid for it or made a foundation deposit around the statue. Carter makes the interesting suggestion that it may have been Orophernes successor Ariarathes V, a generous supporter of the city of Athens, who may have paid for the statue at Priene because it so obviously emulated the Athena Parthenos from the Parthenon. So Carter first thought that the cult statue was a later addition to the temple, but then in 1990 he surprisingly rejected his first idea and claimed that the statue dated to the

fourth century B.C. instead.¹⁵ His updating was based on Koenigs discovery that the surviving mouldings from the cult statue base were almost certainly fourth century in date, yet another stylistic analogy, so it was thought that if there was a base, then there would have been a statue also. Carter believed that the statue and base had to be contemporary and therefore changed his dating of the statue of Athena. Therefore, if there was a statue in the fourth century B.C., there would need to be a roof, at least in the cella, to protect it. This does not mean, however, that the roof over the adjoining colonnade where the carved coffers were positioned was finished. Because the housing of a cult statue was the primary function for most temples, it is reasonable to say that the cella would be the most pressing part of the structure to complete. The temple could then be dedicated and honours made to those who helped to fund it. Considering all of the discrepancies in the style of the architectural features of the temple, it seems probably that the cella was completed by Pytheos and the temple dedicated, despite its unfinished state. Alexander the Great and Megabyzos probably had some role in funding and dedicating the temple.

So it would seem that the analysis of the date of the architectural mouldings from the temple of Athena Polias has caused a wide a variety of reactions. One thing is clear though. If a permanent roof, or at least part of it, was in place in the fourth century B.C. the coffers supporting it must have been put in place and the sculptured coffer lids carved and installed. It would have been impossible to carve the reliefs once they were in situ. So if the whole temple had been completed by the end of the fourth century, or perhaps a little later into the early third, the carved coffer lids should also date to this period. Unfortunately scholars fail to agree on the date of the coffer lids also.¹⁶

Scholarly interpretations of the date of the carved coffer lids

The fragmentary carved coffers lids were first published in 1881 as part of the series *Antiquities of Ionia, Volume IV*. The text, by Charles Newton, that accompanies the plate refers to the fragments of relief sculptures, not as coffer lids, but as part of a frieze. It was not thought, however, that this frieze belonged to the Temple of Athena because of the carving techniques used on the sculptured panels.¹⁷ In the same year, however, Furtwangler challenged this view and claimed that the sculptures did belong to the temple's decoration, but admitted that it was difficult to determine their exact position on the structure. He did state, however, that the sculptures could not have formed a frieze above the architrave, a conclusion confirmed by the architectural details of the building.¹⁸ Furtwangler was the first to publish the view that these sculptures were influenced by the Gigantomachy frieze of the Pergamon Altar which had only recently come to light. In contrast, Overbeck saw the reliefs as the inspiration for the Pergamene frieze.¹⁹ Differences in opinion were

not only restricted to the dates of the Priene sculpture, scholars still could not agree where the sculptures were actually placed on or in the building. Some proposed that the sculptures formed a frieze on the building, while others assigned them to a balustrade inside the temple or as a decorative frieze at the base of the cult statue.²⁰ Few scholars, however, had actually seen the Priene sculptures in the flesh. If they had, they would have noticed that some of them are worked at the sides in such a way that would preclude them from being frieze blocks: the roughly worked areas around the edge of the front surface indicates that some other element concealed them, in much the same manner as a frame. Furthermore, the sculptured figures rest on small ledges, under which the surface has been roughly worked, again indicating that another architectural element concealed it.²¹ In the first official publication of the sculptures by the British Museum in 1900, Smith, who would presumably studied the actual sculptures at first hand, followed the view that they were part of a frieze, although not from the temple of Athena and not necessarily a continuous one because of the rough carving at the edges of the slabs.²²

In 1924 Von Gerkan's theories about the altar of Athena were published. His revolutionary reconstruction gave the reliefs a new architectural context.²³ Instead of a balustrade frieze or as decorations for the cult statue base, von Gerkan placed them on the altar within the sanctuary. His reconstruction of the altar had the reliefs as individual panels decorating the podium beneath the columns, with each sculptural composition separated by a plain element in an arrangement not unlike metopes. Von Gerkan's architectural use of the sculptured reliefs had taken into consideration their roughly worked edges which would have been concealed behind the dividing element, but he had not taken into account all of the idiosyncrasies of the sculptured panels nor all of the architectural details of the Altar itself. Von Gerkan's reconstruction, however, was not to be formally challenged until 1937 when Praschniker suggested, and rightly so, that the sculptures were fragments of coffer lids.²⁴ He assigned the less numerous fragments of coffer lids showing Amazons to the east side of the temple, and dated them to the fourth century B.C., and the Gigantomachy fragments to the western half and dated them to the second century B.C. This last interesting point, suggesting two distinct chronological phases for the production of the carved coffer lids, will be dealt with in more detail shortly. It is remarkable that Praschniker's groundbreaking, but brief, article appeared in the 1937 volume of the *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, immediately succeeding that of Schober's where that author agrees with the architectural reconstruction of Von Gerkan: he too assigns the sculptures to the altar, recognises the similarity with the Gigantomachy frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon and dates them all to the second century B.C.²⁵ All these diverging views appeared in one scholarly volume. Surprisingly after Praschniker's new theory few authors bothered to include the Priene

coffers in articles or general books about Greek sculpture. Those that did, however, tended to agree with his dating of the majority of the surviving coffers to the second century B.C. On the whole, however, the coffer lids remained more or less unknown. They were not on display in the public galleries of the British Museum for the majority of the twentieth century.

It was not until the 1970's that Joseph Coleman Carter began his great study of the surviving sculpture from the sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene that interest in the coffer lids re-surfaced. In 1983, Carter's catalogue of the sculptures was published, the result of many years of thorough research in the British Museum and museums in Turkey.²⁶ Carter's catalogue brought together, for the first time, the large series of fragmentary sculptures from both the temple and the altar of Athena, and also covered the free-standing, votive sculptures dating from the late Classical to the Roman period. His work was a major achievement in the study of sculpture and raised the profiles of the hitherto little known sculptures from the temple and sanctuary. In particular the sculptured coffer lids from the peristyle of the temple were re-analysed and attempts were made at reconstructing the composition of the Gigantomachy. Carter also had some of the joins and associations made between fragments in the nineteenth century taken apart as he believed that they did not belong together. The most important of these was British Museum Sculpture 1171, a figure of a striding goddess formed from three fragments.²⁷ This deconstruction of an almost complete, only headless, figure, was of major significance as this relief had often been illustrated by scholars to support a date in the second century B.C.: its stylistic proximity with the Pergamon Altar Gigantomachy was, in their opinion, unquestionable. More of this coffer lid later.

Before this monumental publication, Carter had previously aired his views on the date of the sculptured coffers in articles published in 1978 and 1979.²⁸ Carter was the first specialist to analyse all of the fragments carefully. He had the sculptures in the British Museum removed from their cumbersome, nineteenth century backings that had rendered close analysis almost impossible and, as mentioned earlier, had some pieces taken apart. On the other hand, he also made connections between figures, forming more legible compositions. One such breakthrough was the connecting, although not physical joining, of a figure of a striding goddess with that of a fallen, winged giant (Fig. 2.3).²⁹ Carter studied all of the fragments from Priene in detail and arrived at three broad stylistic groupings for the rendering of male anatomy and three for the female figures, based upon the treatment of drapery and its underlying anatomy.³⁰ He continues by discussing the coffer reliefs stylistic relationship with other sculptures of the fourth century B.C., including those from the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, the temple of Athena at Tegea, the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos and the temple of Artemis at Ephesos.³¹ Carter does not believe that the drapery at Priene is as erratic and disjointed as that

found on sculptures from the third century and beyond. But Carter *does* accept that the drapery designs on the coffers from Priene have idiosyncracies that can not be closely matched with the Mausoleum sculptures. Despite his attempts to demonstrate how firmly the sculptures from the coffer lids are entrenched in the traditions of fifth and fourth century, however, he concludes that the parallels with drapery from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos are not precise: Carter sees the anonymous sculptors who created the Priene coffers as demonstrating one of the earliest attempts to create drapery of independent life and substance.³² Carter's new dating of the sculptures to the fourth century B.C. met with mixed reactions, with some scholars accepting it and others rejecting it, favouring the second century B.C. and the relationship between the composition and style of the reliefs with those of the Pergamon altar.

Because of the recent catalogue and renewed interest in the sculptures from Priene a new display of the sculptured coffer lids was set up in the re-furbished Wolfson Galleries in the British Museum. Scholars could once again view the best preserved sculptures alongside other monuments dating from the late Classical to Hellenistic periods, including some of the frieze fragments from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos. Carter had obviously convinced some of the Museum's curators: the coffer reliefs were given a fourth century date on their explanatory labels. But not everyone agreed. Some scholars sat on the fence and did not pass judgement. In his important analysis of the sculptured frieze from the altar of Dionysos on the island of Kos, Stampolides included illustrations and a discussion of the coffer reliefs from Priene.³³ Stampolides who studied the reliefs first hand concludes that dating them in the second century B.C. was not certain, but does not support the fourth century re-dating either. Boardman was more hesitant, suggesting that dating the sculptures within the fourth century B.C. was not safe.³⁴

In an attempt to further convince scholars with his re-dating of the coffer lids, Carter presented a paper at the 13th International Congress for Classical Archaeology at Berlin, published in 1990.³⁵ In this paper Carter showed some of the male, nude torsos in photographs alongside similar figures from the Amazonomachy frieze from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos. He emphasised how, in particular, the carving of the upper ribcages were similar on the torsos from the two buildings and how the taut and articulated musculature that appears in both sets of sculpture could even betray the same hands at work. This feature he contrasts with the figures of the gods on the Gigantomachy frieze at Pergamon where, in Carter's view, the musculature is more inflated, rounded and smooth, betraying an advanced stage in the treatment of the human form. The photographs certainly show great similarities in the carving of the male nude, but there are differences also, that will be dealt with later. Sceptics, however, may say that you could present any two, nude male sculptures side by side, dating from between the mid fourth century B.C.

down to the first century B.C. and there would be some anatomical similarities. Greek art was very conservative and there were few, if any, major revolutionary styles. Furthermore, the methods of stylistic analysis and comparisons used by most specialists of Greek sculpture are bound to include subjective criticisms and this present study could no doubt be accused of the same pitfalls. Still, however, there was no general consensus of opinion that Carter was correct in his re-dating.

Before the paper that Carter had presented at Berlin was published, Tancke's thesis about figural coffer lids in the Greek and Roman period emerged.³⁶ She dismissed Carter's re-dating, preferring the traditional second century date instead. When some of the coffer reliefs were included in discussions about the Gigantomachy in Greek art in LIMC IV in 1988, Vian assigned them to a section ranging from the third to second centuries B.C.³⁷ Her lists tend to be chronological and in the article she places them after the Pergamene Gigantomachy, so presumably she believes they are second century in date. Erika Simon, also writing in LIMC, in an article about Kybele, dates the coffer relief showing that goddess to the Hellenistic period, although does not give a precise date.³⁸ In 1995, in an article about Hellenistic altars, Linfert mentions that at least some of the carved coffers were installed on the temple of Athena Polias at Priene during the second century B.C. and therefore were likely to have been carved then.³⁹ He may then, although he does not make it completely clear, follow Praschniker's idea that the Amazonomachy coffer panels were part of the fourth century B.C. construction phase, whereas the Gigantomachy panels came later. Some scholars were totally convinced by Carter's re-dating including, surprisingly, Ridgway whose comprehensive studies of Greek sculpture from all periods are often dotted with sculptures that she down-dates. In her *Fourth-Century styles in Greek sculpture*, Ridgway accepts Carter's updating and is convinced by his stylistic parallels with the Mausoleum Amazonomachy. She agrees that the dismantling of fragments that Carter believes do not join together has simplified the compositions and rendered parallels with the Pergamene Gigantomachy less tenable.⁴⁰ Smith only illustrates one of the coffer panels in his study on Hellenistic Sculpture, the Kybele riding a lion, and the caption gives a late fourth century date.⁴¹ Webb, in her analysis of Hellenistic architectural sculpture, does not include the Priene coffers as she considers them to date to around 340 B.C., following Carter's re-dating.⁴²

Finally, now that all of the relief sculpture from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos has been fully published by Cook, it is easier to view the extensive range of styles, anatomical structures, forms and details and techniques of carving drapery that these sculptures reveal.⁴³ The catalogue illustrates every known fragment from the Mausoleum friezes and coffer panels. Cook wholeheartedly endorses Carter's theory and he claims that there is no doubt that the same hands were at work on both the Mausoleum reliefs and the Priene coffer

panels. He even goes as far to say that one of the two architect/ sculptors of the Mausoleum, Satyros or more likely Pytheos, may have been responsible for the design of the sculptured coffer lids from Priene.⁴⁴

So the reactions to Carter's re-dating of the Priene Gigantomachy to the fourth century B.C. reveals a variety of responses, but the actual sculptures remain relatively anonymous amongst the corpus of surviving Greek architectural sculpture. This is surprising because, although the sculptures are fragmentary and on a relatively small scale, the workmanship is generally of a very high quality. It should be possible to arrive at a conclusion about the date of the coffer panels through comparative studies with other material, some of which is relatively securely dated. It is also possible that, as with the architectural mouldings, the coffer panels were carved at different periods. It is not possible here to discuss all of the carved coffers from the temple in detail, therefore a selection of some of them is presented to demonstrate comparative material. The pieces have not been chosen because they offer better evidence than others for the second century B.C. dating that is being argued here, nor have those that Carter selected to justify his fourth century B.C. dating been deliberately omitted. First, some of the fragments that have been assigned to an Amazonomachy.

As mentioned earlier, Prashniker was the first scholar to propose a two phased programme for carving the coffer reliefs. He suggested that the first panels put in place, at the completed eastern end of the temple, depicted an Amazonomachy. Carter tentatively suggested that the Amazons did not form a separate group or theme, but instead were included in the battle between the Gods and Giants and placed on the north side of the building.⁴⁵ Prashniker continues to say that the majority of the panels showed the Gigantomachy and were carved and installed in the second century B.C. So the question is, do any of the fragments of the Amazonomachy betray stylistic parallels with dated fourth century sculpture?

The Amazon panels

Fig. 2.1 shows a male torso wearing a chlamys pinned on his left shoulder.⁴⁶ Beneath his right armpit are the fingers of another figure, presumably someone supporting him. A dowel hole in his right side, near his companion's fingers, indicate that he originally had a weapon piercing his body. Such a gesture would be unusual for the theme of a Gigantomachy where gods tend to fight giants in one to one combat. A comrade supporting another suits a battle scene between mortals better but is only occasionally found in sculpture, the best parallel being from the Amazonomachy frieze from the temple of Apollo at Bassai.⁴⁷ It is more common to find one warrior defending a fallen companion in a three figure combat scene, as found on the Amazonomachy frieze from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos.⁴⁸ In terms of style, the Priene fragment does share common features with some

of the sculptures from the Mausoleum, for example a fragment preserving the upper half of a Greek warrior.⁴⁹ Both figures have a lean and bony physique, and the skin looks taut over muscle. The Priene fragment, however, is carved in a manner close to metal working; the warrior's nipple is pronounced and carefully delineated and the folds of his drapery are formed of rounded ridges. This style of carving is similar to that found on the coffer showing 'Artemis' from Priene, to be discussed below, which is more clearly second century B.C. in date (see Fig. 2.12). The Priene fragment also differs from the Mausoleum frieze torso in the manner in which the warrior's chest is carefully modelled beneath the garment: the drapery of the latter piece conceals the underlying anatomy, a carving characteristic prevalent on much of the Amazonomachy frieze from the Mausoleum.

Another likely fragment of carved coffer lid associated with the Amazonomachy theme is the lower part of a kneeling woman, (Fig. 2.2) wearing a short tunic reaching to her knees; a garment commonly worn by Amazons.⁵⁰ The tunic is rendered with broad rounded folds that cling to both thighs and the sweeping effect of the material is unlike that found on the Amazons from the Mausoleum. The drapery on the Halikarnassos frieze, however, is rendered in narrow channels with sharper edges, creating a more wrinkled texture. Carter noted the differences in style also, but still preferred to give the Priene Amazon a date in the fourth century B.C.⁵¹

Also attributed to the Amazonomachy group by Carter is the only surviving head from the carved coffers with its facial features preserved. It is now in Istanbul Museum.⁵² The head has the remains of another figure's hand placed upon it, presumably grabbing at the hair and pulling the head back. The expression of terror that we see today has perhaps been exaggerated by the damage to the surface of



Fig. 2.1 Male torso. British Museum, Sculpture 1176.1.



Fig. 2.2 Lower part of a kneeling Amazon. British Museum, Sculpture 1176.5.

the head, but it originally did have large, widely opened eyes, a furrowed brow and parted lips, features that were used to represent anxiety or pain in Greek art. Even in its damaged condition there are vague allusions to the style of the head of Priam from the east pediment of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, but the modelling of the head from Priene is more vigorous, the brow heavier and the features more contorted than the head from Epidauros.⁵³ The agonised expression of the Priene coffer head compares generally, albeit on a modest scale, with the famous Alkyoneus, Athena's opponent on the Great Altar frieze.⁵⁴

So from these few fragments can we agree with Prashniker and Carter that they belong to the first phase of the Priene temple, from the fourth century B.C.? Parallels with the Mausoleum sculptures are not convincing. There are also no obvious differences in terms of style and technique, or the marble used, between the coffer fragments attributed to the Amazonomachy with those from the Gigantomachy.⁵⁵ This suggests that they were conceived and carved at a similar time. The differences between the few fragments attributed to scenes of Amazons from the coffer lids at Priene with the Amazon frieze from Halikarnassos reflects a different period of carving. It seems unlikely then that Prashniker was correct in dating the Amazon coffer lids to the first phase of the temple's construction.

The Gigantomachy panels

The theme of the Amazonomachy was popular throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods, but that of the Gigantomachy in sculpture, appears to have been less popular in the fourth century B.C. than in earlier or later centuries. The exceptions may be its inclusion on one of the pediments of the temple of Athena at Mazi in Elis from the early decades of the fourth century B.C.⁵⁶ A

Gigantomachy has also been reconstructed by Rugler for some of the piers of the later temple of Artemis at Ephesos, although their state is fragmentary.⁵⁷ The subject became more popular in the third to second centuries B.C., for instance on the metopes of the Temple of Athena at Ilion, the Great Altar at Pergamon, and on another smaller frieze from either Palace V or the Propylon of the Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon.⁵⁸ Later in the century come the battered remnants of a Gigantomachy from the frieze of the temple of Zeus Solymeios at Termessos and the frieze from the temple of Hekate at Lagina.⁵⁹ The frieze from Pergamon certainly inspired the compositions and style of most of the later examples. How far the coffer panels from Priene showing the battle between the gods and the giants was influenced by the Pergamene frieze is the important question here.

Although there are a variety of different styles prevalent on the surviving coffer panels, the majority, if not all, of the sculptures reveal close parallels with works of the Hellenistic period rather than works of the fourth century B.C. Carter concluded that the physiognomy of the nude, male figures from the coffer panels were closely related with those from the Amazon frieze of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos.⁶⁰ There are certainly resemblances between the two sets of sculptures and none have the extreme anatomical exaggerations that are prevalent at Pergamon. One obvious difference between Priene and Halikarnassos, however, is that the Priene sculptures are much more three dimensional, and were carved in higher relief. Their high depth was not only due to the nature of the setting of the coffers, placed horizontally up in an obscured and dark part of the building, but was also part of the tradition of the Hellenistic period where relief sculpture tends to be of much higher relief than in earlier periods.

Tancke, who supports a second century date for the Priene coffer panels, also noted the differences between the Mausoleum and Priene.⁶¹ Her main arguments stressed how the figures on the coffers from Priene burst out of their architectural frameworks, in much the same way as the figures on the Pergamene Gigantomachy, whereas on the Mausoleum frieze, parts of the figures are sometimes sunk into the background and are less invasive of the viewer's space than at Pergamon or Priene. At Priene the male figures have a more rounded physique than their counterparts on the Mausoleum frieze. The winged giant who has been associated with the figure of 'Athena' (Fig. 2.3) and the 'Dionysos' (Fig. 2.4), have rounded pectorals and fleshy waists: the Greeks on the Mausoleum frieze are bonier and slightly more angular, although of course there are a variety of different styles on that frieze and anatomical variations occur.⁶² The winged and snake-legged giant is an extremely powerful figure with a musculature exhibiting great tension. It is even more dynamically posed and modelled than a similar figure on the east frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon, that is the giant being struck down by Hekate.⁶³ The 'Dionysos' group from Priene is a more 'closed' composition than most others from the temple, but the restless drapery



Fig. 2.3 Athena and a winged giant. British Museum, Sculptures 1172 and 1173.

compares well with the figure identified as Hyperion on the south frieze of the Great Altar.⁶⁴

The most robustly modelled of all the male figures from the Priene coffer lids was once part of one of the most dynamic compositions (Fig. 2.5).⁶⁵ The figure turns to its left in a dramatic movement that is enhanced by his billowing chlamys. Carter compared the cubic form and stocky proportions of this god to Peloponnesian sculptures, for instance, those from the Bassai temple.⁶⁶ More convincing parallels, however, tend to be later in date. The warrior's powerful shoulders, broad and inflated pectorals and the over accentuated muscles of the abdomen and thorax compare more favourably with the figure of Zeus from the Pergamon frieze.⁶⁷ There are several other male figures from Priene with similar anatomical form, although with a slightly less exaggerated musculature, demonstrating that this figure is not isolated in style and structure.⁶⁸ The study of anatomy and attempts to discern similarities and contrasts between figures is, however, prone to subjectivity, and this is certainly a hindrance when studying the nude, male sculptures. The exaggerated proportions of sculpture 1186.9 and some of the other male figures from the Priene coffer lids does fit in with later Hellenistic styles rather than with those of the late Classical period.

With draped female figures it is perhaps easier to determine chronological traits that distinguish one period from another. Carter made less parallels for the draped, female figures from Priene with those of Amazons from the Mausoleum frieze than he did when discussing male figures. One of Carter's most controversial conclusions, however, was that the most complete figure of a goddess from the Priene coffers was in fact a nineteenth-century pastiche, made up of three fragments (Fig. 2.6). This figure, reconstructed when brought back to the British Museum in the 1870s, was one that scholars most frequently illustrated when attempting to show the similarities between the Priene sculptures and the Pergamon frieze.⁶⁹ The three pieces had been combined to restore a striding goddess, her left arm extended, her body twisting round dramatically. This extreme torsion led scholars like Krahmer to associate it with sculptures dated to the middle of the second century B.C.: the composition, it was thought, could not have been earlier in date.⁷⁰ Carter had the three pieces deconstructed and catalogued them separately explaining his reasoning. He concludes that the only figure showing dramatic torsion associated with the Pergamon altar had now been dismantled, and thus the evidence of this stylistic link between the two sets of sculptures did not exist. Recent



Fig. 2.4 'Dionysos' and a giant. British Museum, Sculpture 1169.

re-examination of the two fragments that once formed the upper part of the body, however, has demonstrated that they do in fact belong together. The two pieces lock into place and do form a tangible composition⁷¹ (Fig. 2.7). It has not yet been possible to try the upper and lower portions against each other to see if a join really does exist: the lower part is presently mounted on a wall for display and it is physically difficult to see if there is a join. Even without the proof that the three pieces belong together, the upper body does reveal a great twist in itself, a feature that reinstates the Pergamene connection. The powerful carving and detailed modelling of the chiton and himation over the upper body is more like second century B.C. styles than those of the fourth century B.C. The bosom is full and matronly and there is a great contrast between the deeply drilled narrow channels of the himation and the broader folds of the chiton over the breasts. The treatment is far removed from the Mausoleum frieze where the garments often conceal the form beneath. Here, despite the heavy drapery, the bodily forms are rounded and more voluptuous than at Halikarnassos. Carter cites parallels for the type of garment worn for many fourth century sculptures, and indeed later, second century ones, but what also makes this Priene piece different is the great twist and its three-dimensionality. If the lower and upper parts do belong together, they make a viable composition that finds good parallels with the Pergamon altar frieze, for instance the foremost of the so-called Moiras or Gorgons on the north frieze. Her upper body turns sharply to her left, the right arm swinging across the body, while the lower part is more frontal.⁷² The lower legs find many comparisons on the Pergamene frieze where heavy billowing material with

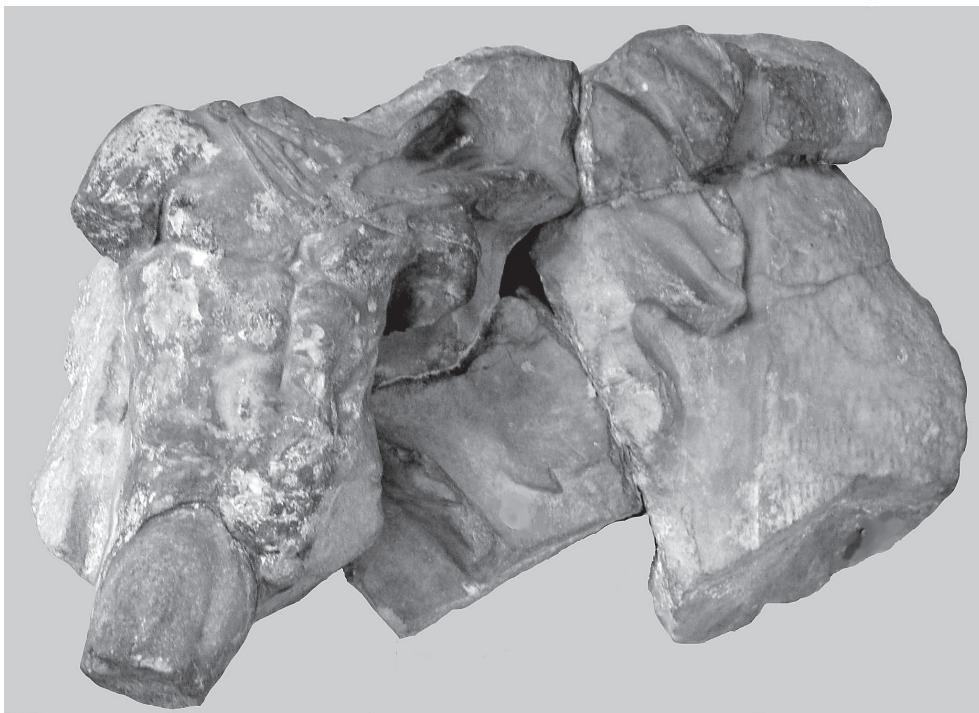


Fig. 2.5 Male figure. British Museum, Sculpture 1176.9.



Fig. 2.6 Nineteenth century reconstruction of a striding goddess. British Museum, Sculpture 1171.

looping lower edges contrasts with the sharper folds where the material is stretched over the legs.⁷³

Amongst the fragments of coffer lids from Priene carved in a similar style, but with a more damaged surface, is a figure of a goddess wearing a chiton and himation and striding to her left⁷⁴ (Fig. 2.8). She is one of the most heavily draped goddesses from the sequence of coffer lids, and Carter has suggested that she represents one of the more matronly deities such as Demeter or Hera. This figure is also one of the largest in scale of the series. Her elongated proportions, with a high waist, and long legs, is better suited to the later Hellenistic period than the late Classical. The combination of garments does find parallels in the fourth century B.C. as Carter noted, but to find such a heavily draped figure with such dramatic movement is more common in the Hellenistic period. It could be wondered how the goddesses at Priene, Pergamon and Lagina manage to participate in such a fast moving, violent battle whilst wearing such heavy, billowing drapery.

Even more dramatic is the fragmentary coffer panel showing a goddess from behind (Fig. 2.9).⁷⁵ Only the lower half is preserved, from the waist to the feet, but enough survives to show that the goddess was striding forwards, her lower half completely shown from the back, her upper half presumably in profile or three quarter view. The drapery is particularly elaborate and over fussy in its design as the sweeping folds form three tiers, the upper

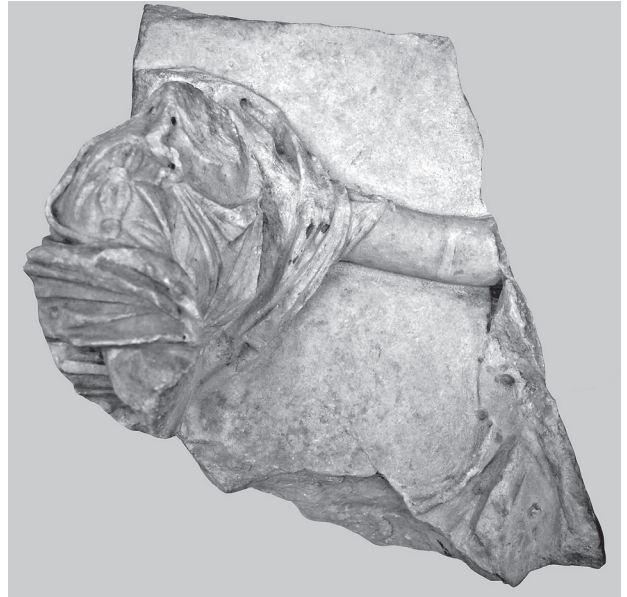


Fig. 2.7 Upper torso of the goddess from Sculpture 1172. British Museum, Sculpture 1171 (fragment).



Fig 2.8 Fighting goddess. British Museum, Sculpture 1174.



Fig. 2.9 Lower part of a female figure. British Museum, GR 1870.3–20.143.

ones broad, rounded and windswept. Carter compared these rounded folds with late fifth century and fourth century sculptures such as the Nike from the stoa of Zeus in Athens and one of the Nereids from Xanthos.⁷⁶ Deep rounded folds are a feature of some Classical works, but the effect of the Priene coffer fragment appears different. Considering the legs are not that widely drawn apart, the layered folds are almost volatile in their arrangement. The Athena acroteria and the Nereid appear more controlled and their drapery is more linear in its general design. The pose of the sculpture from Priene is difficult to parallel, but the Hekate on the Great Altar frieze at Pergamon is the closest, although the pose is reversed. The manner in which the legs and buttocks are indicated beneath the complicated drapery is similar, but the folds between the legs of the Hekate are more linear. In fact, this fragment from Priene is closest to the coffer lid showing Artemis to be discussed shortly (Fig. 2.12) and the heavily muscled god with a billowing cloak in Figure 2.5. All three may have been the work of one sculptor, or at least the same designer, who had a predilection for dramatic poses and exaggerated drapery styles.

One of the most conservative coffer reliefs in terms of style is that showing the goddess Kybele riding side-saddle on a lion (Fig. 2.10).⁷⁷ A non-adjointing fragment of a giant either emerging from or being trampled down into the earth has been suggested as Kybele's opponent.⁷⁸ The goddess is headless now, but long locks of hair fall onto her shoulders. She wears a chiton visible around her breasts and stomach, but over her knees a heavy himation is draped. Her matronly proportions are at odds with most of the other female figures from the coffers, and her drapery is less lively in its arrangement, probably because of her relatively inactive pose. From some angles the legs appear somewhat short and squat, an effect caused by the left leg being bent acutely and the lower right leg being largely missing.

The iconography of Kybele was relatively limited in Greek art, and the sculptural types appear to follow a similar, established pattern, the root of which can be traced back into the fourth century B.C. The Priene example basically follows the traditional type of Kybele shown in numerous votive reliefs where she is seated in a shrine.⁷⁹ The resemblance, however, is perhaps more to do with the sculptor at Priene being aware of the traditional and stylised representation of that goddess than the sculptures being of the same date. The Priene 'Kybele' is, in essence old-fashioned in style, but has closer connections with sculpture dating from the Hellenistic period than with earlier sculptures. One such example is the large, marble cult statue of Kybele from Pergamon, now in Berlin, although in her static frontal pose, the Berlin statue appears even more conservative. The group from Priene shows the goddess twisting around slightly, forcing her garments to move restlessly.⁸⁰ In its current state, the Priene 'Kybele' does not appear to be the most successful composition from the series of carved coffer lids. Her side-saddle pose seems rather clumsily conceived as she appears to be sliding down from the lion rather than sitting on it. Much of this distortion, however, is to do with the damage and any problems that we perceive today with the perspective may have been vanished when it was displayed in its horizontal position in the coffered ceiling.

Carved in a relatively 'quieter' style but still close to Hellenistic works is the fragment of a goddess in diaphanous drapery (Fig. 2.11).⁸¹ This figure has the most revealing drapery and voluptuous proportions of all the goddesses from the series of carved coffer lids, and is therefore the best candidate for the seductive goddess Aphrodite or perhaps Nike who is also sometimes represented wearing revealing garments. The figure is preserved from the neck to mid thighs, and the body twists around, the head turning back and the missing right arm presumably raised to strike a giant to the left. Although the drapery is thin and without the billowing folds that so typifies other female figures from the coffers, the movement is dynamic. Carter again cites parallels dating from the late fifth to fourth centuries B.C., such as the Amazons on the Bassai frieze, the aforementioned Nike from the Stoa of Zeus in the



Fig. 2.10 Kybele riding on a lion over a fallen giant. British Museum, Sculpture 1170.

Athenian Agora, the Nereids from Xanthos and figures from the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros. The similarities, however, appear to be restricted to the fact that the figures all have see through drapery.

The 'Aphrodite' from Priene, however, stands out from these fourth-century B.C. parallels and differs in many respects. One difference is in her form. During the Classical period, sculptors were getting to grips with the female figure with the result that most of these still have a rather square, masculine physique: they generally resemble young men with added breasts. For instance the Lapith women and Amazons on the Bassai frieze have chunky, 'Polykleitan' proportions and their waists are hardly indicated.⁸² Ribcages tend to be high and broad at Bassai, a feature also prevalent on the female figures from the Nereid Monument at Xanthos.⁸³ One Nereid, who was carved with extremely transparent drapery, has a prominent 'Iliac crest' at her waist and a broad rib-cage.⁸⁴ It was not really until the middle of the fourth century B.C. that the female form began to appear less like a male youth. The Knidian Aphrodite went some way

in improving the female physique, but later, Hellenistic women tend to be given more accentuated waists, smaller ribcages and more voluptuous, rounded bodies. The Priene 'Aphrodite' follows the latter rules of form; her breasts are pointed, small and positioned high on the body, her waist is clearly marked, despite her twisting body and the abdomen is swollen. These features compare well with the well-known Nike of Samothrake, a comparison that is not new, but one that Carter has dismissed as restricted to the pose and arrangement, but not the details.⁸⁵ The Priene torso, however, is much smaller than the famous Nike and its drapery is less meticulously carved to prevent over complication. Tancke, however, stressed the great resemblance between the two figures, a connection that appears valid.⁸⁶ Both are high-girdled, have high, upwardly pointing breasts, a great torsion and an 'S'-shaped twist.

An even more voluptuous version of the type is an over life-sized statue of Nike from Pergamon, now in Berlin.⁸⁷ The statues of Nikai from Pergamon and Samothrake have been dated to the first half of the second century



Fig. 2.11 Torso of a goddess, possibly Aphrodite. British Museum, Sculpture 1176.2.

B.C. on stylistic grounds, possibly both to the period of the Pergamene Altar, about 160 B.C. The Priene coffer fragment showing Aphrodite ought also to be placed around here also. Further confirmation may also be found in another Pergamene sculpture, this time from the Telephos frieze of the Great Altar. The fragmentary panel shows a woman running forwards her mantle billowing out behind her, but clinging to her body revealing a curvaceous form.⁸⁸ In many respects the figure closely follows the Pergamene Nike and the Priene 'Aphrodite' is also close in style and composition. The remains of a heavily folded cloak are visible on the 'Aphrodite's' proper left side showing a similar arrangement to the Nike of contrasting figure-hugging and floating drapery.

The fundamental piece of evidence that makes it unlikely that this coffer lid fragment dates from the second half of the fourth century B.C. is that figures with transparent drapery are extremely rare in this period. The only obvious exceptions are the acroteria from the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, although the effect is different with deeply cut, agitated folds of drapery running over the smooth, taut surfaces.⁸⁹ These acroteria are in fact closer in style to the Amazons of the Mausoleum frieze than to the Priene coffer in question. The Priene 'Aphrodite' coffer block certainly appears more closely related to works dated to the second century B.C.

Carter compared the proportions of the aforementioned coffer relief with another, better preserved figure from the series. Figure 2.12 shows a substantial section of coffer lid with the remains of a frontal, female torso carved in



Fig. 2.12 Goddess with cross-strap. British Museum, Sculpture 1176.8.

an active pose.⁹⁰ The figure was tentatively identified as Artemis by Carter because of the presence of a cross strap with a central medallion, a feature that sometimes appears on representations of that goddess.⁹¹ The style of carving of this piece is perhaps the most peculiar of the surviving coffer lid fragments. The carving is much less detailed and the anatomical forms less plastically realised than on the other coffer lids from Priene. The sculptor has attempted to show the bodily forms beneath thin drapery but his efforts were less successful than the sculptor who produced the 'Aphrodite' discussed above. Although the 'Artemis' is dynamically posed the drapery appears lifeless and rigid. Carter compared the pose of the 'Artemis' with that of an Amazon from the Mausoleum frieze, and with the Athena on the metopes from her temple at Ilion, now in Berlin.⁹² The frontal poses are vaguely similar but stylistically the three sculptures are extremely different, for instance the Priene piece is much less detailed than the other two sculptures, with the drapery folds rounded and exaggerated.

Carter grouped the 'Artemis' coffer lid with his stylistic Group vi, the 'buxom female type,' and considered this and the others grouped with it to be comparable with other sculptures dating to the fourth century B.C. He cites the so-called Atalanta from the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea and female figures from the pediments of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros as parallels.⁹³ The comparison is not convincing, however, as the two latter mentioned sculptures are vigorously carved and reveal a more naturalistic style of carving than this particular coffer lid from Priene. Better parallels are to be found with three female sculptures dated on stylistic and epigraphical grounds to the second century B.C. Two are in the National Museum Athens, the so-called Amphitrite from Melos and the Megiste from Piraeus.⁹⁴ The other is a statue from Kyzikos, possibly representing Persephone, now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.⁹⁵ The Megiste is named after the dedicatory inscription on the statue's base. The text names the archon Epikratos and so dates the dedication, and presumably the sculpture to the years 146/5 B.C.⁹⁶ This is one of the very few free-standing sculptures in existence that can be dated by its accompanying inscription, and its importance should not be underestimated. The Amphitrite from Melos dated on stylistic grounds to the later second century B.C. and the Persephone from Kyzikos share common characteristics with the Megiste and the 'Artemis' coffer from Priene. The drapery is carved in a hard and dry manner with a less than successful attempt to render flesh beneath thin material. Folds are often treated as tubular cords, thick and ropy in appearance, and lack the fluidity of form and design that is prevalent on most of the other coffer lids from Priene and even more significantly, on sculpture dated to the fourth-century B.C. It is conceivable that the coffer lid with the 'Artemis' was one of the latest panels to be carved, perhaps made by a sculptor who was less familiar with Pergamene styles and traditions.

Two other figures from the coffer lids at Priene, Figs

2.4 and 2.5, have a related drapery style and carving technique. The folds of their garments are carved in a similar, cord-like manner, but the workmanship of these two figures is of a higher quality than the 'Artemis'. All in all if the 'Artemis' coffer lid had been an isolated find without context it seems unlikely that it would ever have been dated to the fourth century B.C.

So, a brief survey of some of the carved coffer lids from the temple of Athena Polias at Priene has hopefully demonstrated firstly, the variations in style, and perhaps also how many of them can be paralleled with sculptures dating from the third century down to the later second centuries B.C. But we must not forget that Pytheos had almost certainly planned carved coffer lids as he had at Halikarnassos on the Mausoleum. The series of carved coffers from the Mausoleum, however, are extremely fragmentary and it is difficult to make any stylistic parallels with those from Priene. Carved coffer lids were a rarity during most periods but the only examples that have also been dated to the second century B.C. are from the Hieron at Samothrake.⁹⁷ The date of these, however, is still not universally agreed. Unfortunately, however, the style of all of the fragments of the carved coffer lids from Priene suits a later date than Carter proposes. None of the sculptures, even those attributed to the Amazonomachy series, suit a date in the fourth century B.C.

Close analysis of the Priene carved coffers reveal better links with sculptures of the first half of the second century B.C. and there are strong stylistic links with the Pergamon Altar, and other sculpture from that city. Admittedly, at Priene the compositions and carving styles appear somewhat simpler and less detailed than at Pergamon, but this was probably due to their position on the temple. They would have been difficult to view and too much, flamboyant detail would have complicated the compositions. But in essence many of the figures are as dynamically modelled and posed as their counterparts on the Great Altar Gigantomachy frieze and much more so than the relatively conservative styles found on the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos. Whether the Pergamene altar inspired the Priene scenes is not known, but it is equally not impossible. The impetus for completing the temple and adding sculptures planned for in the original fourth-century design but never carved or completed was perhaps the funds received from Orophernes. It is also conceivable that some of the sculptors who had worked on the Pergamene Gigantomachy carved the coffer lids at Priene, but it is impossible to be certain. Whatever the actual date is the carved coffer lids from Priene, however, ought once again to be appreciated as powerful and important works of Hellenistic architectural sculpture.

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Notes

- 1 For an account of the excavations at Priene see Carter, 1983, 1–43.
- 2 Wiegand and Schrader, 1904. The relief fragments found during these excavations went to Istanbul Museum, while other sculptures and architectural elements were taken to Berlin.
- 3 See Carter 1983, 33–36 for a commentary on the suggested phases for the temples construction. For a detailed discussion of the architectural elements of the temple see Koenigs, 1983. Also see Rumscheid and Koenigs 1998, 123–133 for a useful summary in English about the construction phases.
- 4 Schede, 1934, 97.
- 5 While Koenigs believes that it is more likely that the second phase of the temple's construction occurred during the second century B.C., he does not rule out that it could have been in the third century B.C.
- 6 Koenigs, 1983, fig. 1.
- 7 Rumscheid, 1994, 42–45.
- 8 The inscription is in the British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, GR1870.3–20.88 (Inscription 399 and 400). See also Cook 1987, 21–22, fig. 12.
- 9 For this over life-sized portrait head see Carter 1983, no. 85, pp. 271–76. Also see Walker 1995, 95.
- 10 The two from the Sanctuary of Demeter are now in Berlin, Antikensammlung. For photographs and references see Blümel 1966, 86–87, nos 104 and 105. Both heads are of marble and under life-size. The larger of the two compares well both stylistically and in composition to the so-called Ada from the Athena Sanctuary. The smaller head is similar to another head from the Sanctuary of Athena, catalogued in Carter 1983, 276–278, cat. no. 86. These three heads are often identified as priestesses of the cults of Athena and Demeter respectively. Because of their unusual stylistic features, that are comparable with the female, dynastic portraits from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, it seems more likely that they represent members of the Hekatomnid court, although their exact identifications remain unknown at present.
- 11 Carter 1983, 36–38 analyses the role of Megabyzos in detail. Carter's 1990 article, also refers to the Megabyzos statue base and its dedication.
- 12 Both the Alexander dedication and the Megabyzos inscription were published by Gaertringen in the early 1900s. He claimed that both inscriptions dated to the reign of Alexander the Great. Gaertringen, 1906, 1, no. 1 (Alexander inscription); 5, no. 3 (Megabyzos inscription). Crowther's observations were referred to by Carter in Carter, 1990, 133–4 also n. 52.
- 13 See Rumscheid, 1994, 42 for this suggestion.
- 14 See Carter, 1983, 231–237 for a full account and interpretation of this discovery.
- 15 See Carter 1990, 135.
- 16 Both Carter 1983, 38–9 and Tancke 1989, 31–2, provide useful summaries of the differing dates for the Priene reliefs.
- 17 This was published in London, 1881. One plate is given to four of the best preserved sculptural groups from the temple coffers.
 - i) Carter 1983, cat. nos 15–17, three pieces originally joined to make a, more or less complete, figure of a goddess (see here Fig. 2.6)
 - ii) Carter 1983, cat. no. 33, a striding goddess
 - iii) Carter 1983, cat. no. 37, a god and giant in combat
 - iv) Carter 1983, cat. no. 32, an anguiped giant.
- 18 Furtwangler 1881, 309.
- 19 Overbeck 1894, 405–409.
- 20 See Carter 1983, 38 for a summary of the different opinions.
- 21 See the individual catalogue entries in Carter 1983, for an account of the technical details of the Priene fragments. Particularly useful are Carter's catalogue numbers 5, 18, 31 and 38, where some of the frame is preserved.
- 22 Smith 1900, catalogue numbers 1165–1176. Not all of the fragments of coffers were included in Smith's catalogue, and some of the pieces had been erroneously put together and given the same catalogue numbers. Carter was the first scholar to publish all of the known fragments from the coffers. Smith notes the thoughts of other scholars who had dated the Priene Gigantomachy later than the Pergamon example.
- 23 Von Gerkan 1924.
- 24 Praschniker, 1937, 45–49.
- 25 Schober, 1937, 28–44.
- 26 Carter, 1983.
- 27 Carter, 1983, catalogue numbers 15–17, 124–127, plate a–e. For photographs of the figure before it was dismantled see Lehmann and Lehmann, 1969, 233, fig. 186. For a side on view see Stampolidis, 1987, plate 71e, and for the lower fragment alone plate 71c.
- 28 Carter 1978, 771–782 and Carter 1979, 139–151.
- 29 Carter 1983, catalogue numbers 31–32. British Museum Sculptures 1172 and 1173. Sculpture 1172 is one of the few coffer lids that has its original height preserved. The sculptured remains are fragmentary and show the lower half of a striding, draped goddess. In front of her is a carved area that preserves traces of wings. This wing is probably the missing one from the fallen giant on Sculpture 1173. The composition now shows a goddess attacking a fallen winged and snake-legged giant and parallels with other Gigantomachies, particularly that on the Great Altar at Pergamon suggest that this is Athena and Alkyoneus, her legendary opponent. This is speculative, however, as the upper half of the female figure is largely missing and it is not possible to determine whether the goddess wore an aegis or not.
- 30 Carter, 1983, 70–81.
- 31 Carter 1983, 96–103.
- 32 Carter 1983, 103.
- 33 Σταμπολίδης 1987, 261
- 34 Boardman, 1995, 30.
- 35 Carter 1990, 129–136.
- 36 Tancke 1989.
- 37 Vian 1988, 207, no. 26.
- 38 Simon 1997, 758, no. 82.
- 39 Linfert 1995, 138–9.

- 40 Ridgway 1997, 136.
- 41 Smith 1991, fig. 202.
- 42 Webb 1996, 145.
- 43 Cook, 2005, 26–8.
- 44 Cook, 2005, 28.
- 45 Carter, 1983, 88.
- 46 British Museum, Sculpture 1176.1, Carter, 1983, 142–144, no. 29, plate XVI,c. Other pieces attributed to the Amazonomachy group are Carter, nos 9, 10, 28, and 35. Smaller fragments may also have belonged to the groups but are less readily identifiable as Amazons. Identifying Greek warriors from the Greek gods and giants of the Gigantomachy frieze is more difficult.
- 47 For Bassai see British Museum, Sculpture 539, Madigan 1992, plate 48, no. 147. For the Mausoleum parallel see Cook, 2005,
- 48 See British Museum, Sculptures 1020 and 1021, Cook, 2005, nos 13 and 14, plates 12 and 13.
- 49 See British Museum, Sculpture 1030, Cook, 2005, no. 91, plate 21.
- 50 British Museum, Sculpture 1176.5, Carter, 1983, 115–116, no. 9, plate IX,e.
- 51 Carter, 1983, 116.
- 52 Carter, 1983, 116–118, no. 10, plate X,a–c.
- 53 For the Epidauros head see Yalouris, 1994, plate 16, d–e and 17,a.
- 54 For the Alkyoneus see Schmidt, 1962, plate 52.
- 55 Isotopic analysis of the marble used for the carved coffers at Priene suggests that it is the same marble used for the Amazonomachy frieze on the Mausoleum, a marble from western Asia Minor, possibly from Ialysos or even Proconessos. Carter, 1990, 133. Carter refers to the marble analysis and notes that, although it may be a coincidence that the same marbles were used, other similarities between the two groups of sculptures demonstrate their proximity in terms of date. It may also show that Pytheos selected the same marble deliberately because his stone carvers were familiar with carving it or that there was some left over from the working of the Mausoleum. This is of course speculative: the coincidence argument is the most convincing.
- 56 For this temple and its sculpture see Τριαντη, 1981.
- 57 Rügler, 1988. The style of the sculptured piers at Ephesos appears somewhat later in date than that of the carved column bases. The relief of the former is much higher and the robust and vigorous modelling style more akin to the Pergamon Altar than the column drums. This is a idea that merits a deeper analysis that is not relevant here.
- 58 For the Ilion metopes see Holden, 1964, 31. The suggested dates of the metopes from the temple of Athena at Ilion range from the fourth century B.C. to the Augustan period. Scholars have not been able to decide whether the compositions of the metopes influenced or were influenced by the Gigantomachy frieze from the Great Altar of Pergamon. After analysing the views of other scholars, Holden dated them to the late fourth century B.C. on stylistic grounds. This view seems to have stuck, but is by no means secure. For the smaller frieze from Pergamon see Hoepfner, 1996, 22a. The three frieze slabs found on the terrace near the Sanctuary of Athena had been assigned to the propylon of the sanctuary. Hoepfner includes them in the decoration of Palace V. The slab with a Gigantomachy shows Zeus and part of Athena battling giants. The other two slabs showed scenes from the Trojan wars. The style is similar to both the Gigantomachy of the Great altar and the Telephos frieze and is probably contemporary in date. Also see Queyrel, 2005, 101, fig. 96.
- 59 For Termessos see Vian, 1951, plate IX, no. 51. The two panels show Zeus and Apollo, and despite there being only line drawings available of the sculptures, the style and composition seems clearly influenced by the Pergamon Altar. The best photographs of the Lagina frieze are from Schober, 1933, plates XVIII–XXIII. Some excerpts from this Gigantomachy are echoes of the Pergamene frieze but the composition and style appear different and the workmanship cruder.
- 60 Carter, 1990, 130–131, plates 13–15.
- 61 Tancke, 1989, 34–35.
- 62 For the winged giant see British Museum, GR 1870.3–20.166 (Smith 1173), Carter, 1983, 146–8, cat. no. 32, plate XVII,b–d. For the Dionysos see British Museum, GR 1870.3–20.154 (Sculpture 1169).
- 63 See Schmidt, 1962, plate 15.
- 64 See Schmidt, 1962, plate 18.
- 65 British Museum 1870.3–20.163, Sculpture 1176.9. Carter, 1983, 135–6, no. 24, plate XVa.
- 66 Carter, 1983, 136–137.
- 67 For the Zeus from Pergamon see Queyrel, 2005, 54, fig. 37.
- 68 See Carter, 1983, cat. nos 5, plate IX,a; 6, plate IX,d; 25, plate XV,b (in Istanbul); 32, plate XVII; 36, plate XIX.
- 69 See Carter 1979, 147, British Museum, GR 1870.3–20.139 and 321. Sculpture 1171. The figure was restored from three pieces, a background with part of the outstretched left arm, the upper torso turning to the left and a large piece with the lower body. Carter, 1983, 124–127, cat. nos 15–17. Carter stated that it was possible that the upper and lower pieces may belong together, but that the piece preserving the upper body did not join.
- 70 Krahmer, 1923–4, 152–3, fig. 3.
- 71 This author has since had the two pieces re-attached with confirmation by several stone sculpture specialists and conservators.
- 72 For the Moira or Gorgon see Schmidt 1962, plate 35, right. Simon identified the figure as one of the Gorgons, see Queyrel, 2005, 69.
- 73 See the Athena, Zeus, Hekate, Helios, Amphitrite and Nyx or Atropos.
- 74 British Museum, GR 1870.3–20.144 (Sculpture 1174. Carter, 1983, 149–150, cat. no. 33.
- 75 British Museum, GR 1870.3–20.143. Carter, 1983, 171–173, cat. no. 52.
- 76 For the Nike from Athens see Danner, 1989, plate 10, no. 105. For the Nereid in the British Museum see Childs and Demargne, 1989, volume II, plate 98 for a variety of views of the statue.
- 77 British Museum, GR 1870.3–20.140 (Sculpture 1170). Carter, 1983, 121–123, cat. no. 14.
- 78 British Museum, GR 1870.3–20.157. Sculpture 1166.
- 79 Simon, 1997, plate 509, nos 32–41 and free-standing sculptures on plates 510–511.
- 80 The best photograph of the Kybele from Pergamon is still that in Winter, 1908, 69–71, no. 45, plate XII.
- 81 British Museum, GR 1870.3–20.147, Sculpture 1176.2. Carter, 1983, 138–139, cat. no. 26.
- 82 The best published photographs appear in Hofkes-Brukher, 1975.
- 83 Note in particular the lapith woman at a shrine whose

- garment reveals her body. See Madigan, 1992, plate 43, no. 133, British Museum, GR 1815.10–20.10, Sculpture 524.
- 84 See British Museum, Sculpture 909. For the Nereids in general see Todisco, 1993b, pl. 66 onwards.
- 85 For the Nike of Samothrace see Mark, 1998, 156–161. Mark sees the statue as a work of the Rhodian school, dated to about 190–180 B.C. Ridgway, 2002, 151 prefers to compare it with the Pergamon Altar and downdates the Nike to about 160 B.C. and proposes a Pergamene origin.
- 86 Tancke, 1988, 35.
- 87 For the Pergamene Nike see Winter, 1908, 71–73, no. 46, plate XIII. The statue is preserved from the neck to the back of the feet but the front lower part does not survive. Also see Mark, 1998, 160, fig. 161 for a three quarter view of the statue. From this angle the figure seems almost swollen and the proportions rounded and full.
- 88 See Heres, 1997, 113, fig. 20 for the figure of the woman from block no. 47.
- 89 For the acroteria from the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea see Stewart, 1977, plate 1, no. 1 and plate 3, no. 3. There is a better picture of Stewart's no.1 in Todisco, 1993b, pl. 141. The acanthus column dancers from Delphi also have thin drapery and have been dated from 375 B.C. down to the late fourth century B.C. The recent attempts to update the monument appear sound, although the association with Praxiteles is questionable. In any case, the drapery arrangement is slightly archaistic in style and the figures suit an early fourth century date rather than later. For a discussion of this monument see Ridgway, 1990, 22–26, who favours a date in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. and Corso, 2004, 115–125 who proposes that the 'dancers' are an early work by Praxiteles, about 375 B.C.
- 90 See British Museum, 1870.3–20.148, Sculpture 1176.8). Carter, 1983, 128–9, no. 18, plate XIIIa.
- 91 Although not worn exclusively by Artemis, the strap may have been intended to support her quiver. Unfortunately the type of cross strap she wears was common from the fifth century B.C. down into the Hellenistic period and so is not a tangible dating tool.
- 92 Carter, 1983, 129. For the Mausoleum parallel see Cook, 2005, plate 4. British Museum, Sculpture 1007.
- 93 Carter, 1983, 98.
- 94 For illustrations and references see Kaltsas, 2002, 291, no. 612 (Amphitrite) and 293–4, no. 615 (Megiste).
- 95 For the Persephone from Kyzikos see Hoffmann 1965, 65–70, plates 30–32.
- 96 Eule suggested that the Megiste was probably from the Metroon in the Piraeus. The statue is dedicated to Aphrodite and the Mother of the Gods. Eule, 2001, 185, catalogue number K56, fig. 60.
- 97 See Webb, 1996, 145 for a summary of the Hieron sculptures. She dates the carved coffer lids to the early Hellenistic period.

Inscription as Ornament in Greek Architecture

Patricia A. Butz

The great Owen Jones (1809–1874) in his influential sourcebook, *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), made two observations that have particular relevance to my argument for inscriptions as ornament in Greek architecture. At the outset of the *Grammar*, Jones lists thirty-seven principles, the first of which reads as follows: “The Decorative Arts arise from, and should properly be attendant upon, Architecture.”¹ Jones fuses the decorative arts, a subset of which is ornament, with the very genesis of architecture; hence no matter what independent paths ornament may take, it should initially be grounded in architecture and, at its best, should serve architectural structure. His second and even more provocative observation distinguishes between representative and decorative ornament in Greek art. Jones claims that examples of representative ornament by the Greeks are rare, whereas decorative ornament is an extremely rich category, recognizing that the difference between the two is really the degree of imitation: “What is evident is, that the Greeks were close observers of nature, and although they did not copy, or attempt to imitate, they worked on the same principles.”² Jones was in touch with the sometimes difficult-to-accept fact that proportion and form are at the heart of Greek art, not naturalism per se. Decorative ornament offers the opportunity of creative manipulation for far more abstract, even theoretical purposes: “appreciation of the principle on which the flower grows,” as Jones puts it, as opposed to the flower proper.³

Jones’ advocacy of Greek ornament as non-representational, however, leads him to an extreme and startling conclusion:

Greek ornament was wanting, however, in one of the great charms which should always accompany ornament, – viz. Symbolism. It was meaningless, purely decorative, never representative, and can hardly be said to be constructive; for the various members of a Greek monument rather present surfaces exquisitely designed to receive ornament, which they did, at first painted, and in later times both carved and painted. The ornament was no part of the construction, as

with the Egyptian: it could be removed, and the structure remain unchanged.⁴

It is indeed a paradox that Jones, on the one hand, correctly identifies commensurability of parts as integral to Greek ornament and, on the other, seems not to recognize how Greek ornament and architecture are truly connected and defined by one another, thus so brilliantly expressing his own first principle. Furthermore, the strong movement towards symbolism in Greek ornament made during the Hellenistic period apparently did not qualify in Jones’ thinking or simply was not sufficiently observed by him. I will return to these points in the conclusion.

At no point in *The Grammar of Ornament* does Jones suggest that the elements composing a writing system such as the Greek alphabet may themselves act as ornament. It is this logical step in the definition of Greek ornament that I want to explore and, ideally, to integrate into the discipline of Greek epigraphy. At least Jones appreciated the significance of the continuous line as a fundamental building block that underlies any analysis of Greek art, and Greek monumental lettering is entirely consistent with that aesthetic: it is spare and monoline from its inception. Yet the classification of Greek inscriptions has always been along textual lines, privileging topography and historical content as defining features in categorization; the contents of any corpus will show this. A recent exhibition catalogue published by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, strongly addressing the aesthetic development of the Greek script, still marshals ancient inscriptions into three divisions based on content: public (ἐπιγραφές δημόσιου), including laws and decrees, a variety of administrative lists and regulations, state funerary inscriptions, documents dealing with weights and numismatic subject matter; religious (ἐπιγραφές θρησκευτικού), including sacred laws and cult regulations, oracular pronouncements, hymns, cures; and private (ἐπιγραφές ιδιωτικού), including votives, manumissions, private contracts, and private funerary inscriptions.⁵

It is interesting to contemplate other ways of categorizing inscriptions that nuance the element of content via its method of publication. If the physical fusion of the inscription with its carrier is taken as the point of entry – suggesting its physical function and impact on viewer relations via display, social impact, and propaganda – a different set of genres emerge. Architectural inscriptions, that is inscriptions carried by the structural components of full-scale architecture, would become the first major category; and while content is never relegated to second place, the inscription is studied differently from the start. Inscriptions carried by stelai would form another category, functioning differently in space than those carried by a building, even if the content were the same for both (dedicatory, for example). Yet both categories must be considered “architectural” in the larger sense. I believe that this is the idea that B. D. Meritt meant to denote by his expression, “architectural epigraphy,” coined sixty-five years ago: “It seems to us now almost self-evident that every inscription should be studied not only as a text but as an architectural monument, but the tradition has been such that only in rather recent years has there been any general feeling for the necessity of a fuller development of architectural epigraphy.”⁶

In a “carrier context”, more theoretical than historical, it makes a great deal of sense to talk about the inscription itself as ornament. I propose a corollary to this idea: how an inscription is visually presented and received by the viewer affects its content. This is never more so than on the level of monumental architecture which makes it, once again, the premier category. Architectural historians of all cultures and time periods have universally acknowledged the unique role of buildings in defining and influencing human space and activity. The issue of architectural ornament and its role in the process seems more contentious, perhaps because of the effort to read specific meaning or changes in meaning to these smaller units or because ornament is sometimes considered mere embellishment.⁷ But how can ornament not be part of the deeper communication process: “For like humans, buildings talk about themselves. Through the language of architectural detail or ornament, buildings reveal their character and their anatomy.”⁸

If this kind of communication, explicit or subliminal, is seen as the purpose of architectural ornament, then inscriptions are specially empowered because they create deliberate patterns of communication. This is a given regardless of the quality of the inscription, although the message is surely enhanced or diminished according to the manner of its presentation. Indeed, the location might be at odds with the expected, but this in itself might add to the message rather than detract. Joseph Rykwert offers one of the few unqualified acknowledgements of the importance of architectural inscription among the Greeks:

There is another surface matter which most observers note parenthetically (if at all) about Greek buildings: they were inscribed. Not as most modern buildings might be, with

plaques or labels – or even in large monumental characters on a frieze or on a panel—but right across, as it were. Steps, walls, and even columns might be covered with characters, sometimes contained within a specially smoothed piece of wall, or perhaps attached on a bronze plaque to the wood or stone of a column. ... The stylobate and walls of the Athenian treasury at Delphi could be read as a book; the steps of the temple of Apollo at Syracuse carry an Archaic inscription in monumental characters of the kind you might expect on a cornice. The letters of such inscriptions, unless heightened with color, would be illegible or virtually so.⁹

At the beginning of the citation, Rykwert identifies architectural inscription as a “surface matter,” and this terminology is significant despite the exuberant list of examples that follows. Rykwert is in the midst of his discussion about surface treatment of buildings and how, above all, classical buildings are “finished” by means of a variety of surface applications: strong colors over applied stucco, painted sculpture, and, yes, inscriptions. But does this association of inscriptions with the act of finishing the surface of a building negate their potential for encoding the identity of the building proper? Inscriptions might equally be deemed structural in the sense of “deep structure” or meaning. This is certainly the case if they turn the building and the reception of its space into something else: a book, for example, as Rykwert himself suggests. In his example of the Athenian treasury at Delphi, the wall inscriptions would seem to effect this change, not the stylobate. Yet, in considering another Athenian dedication at the site, namely the famous portico with its inscribed stylobate, linking the deep meaning of that inscription and its location to the very purpose of the building becomes very plausible.

The Athenian portico at Delphi is the last major building on the Sacred Way before making the final turn for the Temple of Apollo. The stoa is inscribed in monumental letters on the lateral face of the top step of its three-step krepidoma; it is highly legible to the passer-by.¹⁰ These letters are so simple and powerful in their monoline construction that they need to be appreciated individually before they ever form words; we are reminded of the value of the individual letterform in Plato’s reduction of words to their most basic unit of construction, namely “letters (*grammata*) and the discrete sounds represented by letters.”¹¹ Taken together, of course, they compose the dedication of the stoa and the military spoils and the akroteria made by the Athenians.¹² The dedication is, in fact, the literal and metaphorical foundation for the building’s existence. By such forceful placement of the inscription high on the stylobate, as opposed to either stereobate, the dedication directly supports and stabilizes the columniation above it, a kind of reverse entablature. There is a chthonic quality to the whole of the portico’s formation: the location of the stoa at the final ascent into the sanctuary, the inscribed dedication rising, as it were, from the depths of the three-degree foundation. Since the inscription is not centered but placed further left than right by one bay, it is intended to be read “early” from left to right as the visitor passes the building, leaving

the eye free to move on to the majesty of the natural surroundings directly ahead and the soon-to-appear temple above. Furthermore, the meticulous dressing of the stones carrying the inscription features a smooth band at the top of the dark limestone blocks contrasting with the superb texturing of the major surface. This band doubles as a framing device and as a ruler: the inscription is hung on the bottom of the band. The full geometric treatment of the letters contrasts with the pattern of the polygonal wall into which the stoa is built, supporting the terrace above.¹³ The polygonal blocks also carry a plethora of inscriptions, these in minute script and densely packed,¹⁴ the most extreme comparison imaginable against the overwhelming size and ordering of the dedication. This kind of contrast between size and function of architectural inscriptions on a single monument – both “one-liners” and massed fields of lettering – manifests the idea of lettering as ornament in Greek epigraphy.

The Athenian dedications of portico and treasury at Delphi both serve as important examples of monumental inscriptions carried on the bases of buildings.¹⁵ It is no accident that, despite controversy over the actual dates of both buildings, these inscriptions are products of the emerging Classical democracy. The Athenian polis acts as the dedicant, the perfect example of the multiple subject acting as one, rather than a named individual.¹⁶ This is in stark contrast to the placement of such dedications, sometimes even by the Athenians themselves, during the Hellenistic period. By that time, a very significant change occurs, not only in the frequency of such inscriptions in Greek architecture but in their location as well. The movement of monumental dedications is upwards from the stylobate, or the equivalent of a base level in the Archaic and Classical periods, to a higher location on the monumentally inscribed architrave ultimately favored in the Hellenistic period. This does not mean that monumental inscriptions never occur on the architrave during the Classical period. An important example is furnished by the Archegeion at Delos, where the two doorways to the sanctuary carried a prohibitory inscription on each of the lintels.¹⁷ The reason for the change in location for *dedicatory* inscriptions of the Hellenistic period has everything to do with the genre of the inscription involved and the whole complex of patronage and spectator relationships. John Onians discusses the mental transition as follows:

The nature of Greek political life made such association of an individual family with a particular structure a rare exception. It was not until the early Hellenistic period, when families and individuals controlled the revenues of whole states and their ascendancy, both internally and externally depended largely on the impression of power they could present, that the notion of personal expression through architecture became widespread. Alexander tried in vain to have his name inscribed on the Temple of Diana at Ephesus in return for his contribution to its rebuilding, but he succeeded at Priene.¹⁸

The dedication by Alexander the Great of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene is an inscription of the highest

aesthetic significance and one that bears close examination both in terms of the location of the inscription and the treatment of the inscription’s letterforms.¹⁹ Late Classical in date, it is the outstanding transitional example for the theory I have proposed. Its association with Alexander is its *raison d’être*: a mere three-line inscription, but with letterforms that measure between 5 ½ and 6cm in height,²⁰ filling the front face of a white marble block that once was located high on the face of one of the pronaos antae on the eastern end of the temple.²¹ It bespeaks the dynamic force of the relationship between the king Alexander and, through Athena in her aspect as Polias, the polis of Priene. Other decrees of a public nature share the surface of the antae and deep wall space of the pronaos.²² It is important that just below the Alexander dedication, his title of king is repeated yet again in the heading of a letter regulating affairs between Priene and Nauchoch; the letterforms of this document are not as tall or well-cut, reaching a maximum height of 5cm.²³ Even the right lateral face of the Alexander dedication is inscribed with a later decree in much smaller letterforms, its content dealing with Rhodian involvement in land arbitration in the vicinity.²⁴ The whole is a remarkable archive that freely uses walls and the surfaces of the engaged antae as a field for massed decrees in a variety of letterform heights, headed up by a monumental dedication that in Classical times we might well have expected at floor level. Yet despite its placement at the top of the anta, the Alexander dedication stops short of the entablature and is fixed in the common space essentially used by the polis for its affairs.²⁵

It is worth noting that Priene itself was something of a hybrid, with strong connections towards Athens and Thebes as well as the Greek East; and whether or not it was second choice, the opportunity for Alexander’s dedication in such a setting was politically loaded because it potentially could have influence in many directions. Calling the act of dedicating a temple as “non-Greek” to begin with, Joseph Carter goes on to observe,

It was in keeping with Alexander’s past behaviour that he should choose to associate himself again with Athena. He had sacrificed to her on first landing in Asia and again on the site of Troy. His devotions there as well as his abortive attempt to dedicate the Artemision at Ephesus suggest that his associating himself with the principal cults of the Greek cities of Asia Minor was not solely a reflection of his religiosity but also part of a policy of winning acceptance for himself and his rule. Is it pure coincidence that he should have wished his name on the Temple which replaced one bearing the inscription βασιλεύς Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκε, ‘King Kroisos dedicated (this temple)’ (on a moulding of a sculptural column drum), and that he used exactly the same formula to dedicate the Temple to Athena?²⁶

Whatever political connections or advantages Alexander had to give up after his “failure” to secure the patronage for the Artemision must have been partially made up for at the more modest site of Priene, which afforded the sense of newness fostered by the city’s foundation.²⁷ Through the dedication inscription alone, Alexander joined in the

undoubted creativity displayed in the Temple of Athena Polias.²⁸

Indeed, something extraordinary happens in the letterforms of the Alexander dedication that might never have happened at Ephesus. In examining the letterforms, it becomes apparent that the terminals have been emphasized by a subtle widening, that occurs very naturally out of the main stroke. Heisserer notes these “small apices” in passing, but does not remark on their uniqueness. He mentions two other features of the palaeography, one related to the straight formation of letters and the other to round letterforms, that also require reexamination:

Perhaps the most interesting letter is *nu*, whose bars are of equal length and give the impression that although this is a non-*stoichedon* text certain characters were cut with the use of a removable square. The august nature of the dedication is reflected in the size of the *omicron* and *theta*, which measure nearly as high as the other letters, contrary to the usual practice of late fourth-century inscriptions.²⁹

There are five *nus* that occur in the three-line inscription. The first is in Alexander’s own name; it is the only occurrence in the first line. Heisserer’s use of the word “bars” is confusing and inaccurate. My measurements for each element of the *nu* in Alexander’s name are as follows: left hasta: 5.22cm; diagonal: 6.57cm; right hasta 4.80cm. Clearly none of these elements are equal. What is consistent in four out of five *nus* is the distance between the hastae: 5.0cm. This could imply the use of a square device. Heisserer is right to mention a possible reminiscence of the *stoichedon* here. The inscription, in my opinion, cries out to be rectified.³⁰ His comment about the height of the round forms is also well taken.

In the first of his Lyell Lectures of 1957, renowned typographer Stanley Morison made several key comments on the important place that the Alexander dedication held for the future of Graeco-Roman script. In that lecture, which traces the course of Graeco-Roman script from Archaic Greece to Rome’s High Empire, the Alexander dedication is employed by Morison to illustrate the abandonment of the second major characteristic in his definition of Classical Greek script: uniformity of stroke. Morison describes the change as follows:

The distinctive feature of this inscription consists of a consistent thickening towards the ends of perpendiculars and horizontals. This thickening is often very slight in dimension but obviously always deliberate – despite the evidence in this example that the sculptor, though a first-class workman, was hurried in his execution. ... His speed is suggested in the lack of precision. In many respects the lettering has the appearance of a free hand rather than a geometrically regulated inscription.³¹

Heisserer also identifies a certain irregularity in that some letters lean more to the right, also “with a tendency to taper down to the right.”³² Morison’s contribution, however, lies in his attention to the thickening of the strokes. While asserting that the endstrokes do not qualify as fully bracketed serifs, they are revolutionary nevertheless.

Morison goes on to say, “I think we are justified, however, in arguing that this inscription of Alexander, which is one of the earliest datable examples, is important – as possessing the finished taper and incipient bracket.”³³ The real question, however, is why the subtle emphasis placed on endstrokes as such occurs now and in this particular inscription. The presence of this extraordinary taper is not accidental nor the by-product of an individual cutter. The phenomenon, according to Morison, is to be connected with Alexander himself. It follows that the innovation could not have occurred without his approval in the year of his invasion of Asia Minor, if one accepts the date of 334 B.C. for the inscription.³⁴ In other words, the letterform design as well as its placement in the public and religious architectural setting of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene, can only be called *ornamental*. Morison, now referring to the taper as an actual serif, puts it succinctly: “The undeniable fact is that such serifing is equivalent to ceremonial embellishment.”³⁵ His expression “ceremonial embellishment” is worth remembering, as it restores the concept of meaning, of such concern to Jones, to ornament – in this case the act of serifing of the letterform. In short, the visual propaganda embedded in the serifs of this inscription puts Priene on the calligraphic map; Morison would make it the capitol of Western palaeography.

Moving to the period after Alexander and comparing his dedication with that of Eumenes II on the propylon to the Temple of Athena Polias in Pergamum, Onians gives the purely Hellenistic perspective:

Earlier rulers had put their names on buildings to which they had contributed, as had Croesus with the Artemisium of Ephesus or Alexander with the temple of Athena at Priene. Such inscriptions, however, were small and difficult to find. It had also long been a tradition to dedicate one’s own or one’s enemy’s armour in a temple, but these would never have been thought of as part of the building itself. The prominence of the inscription and the permanence of the attributes of Eumenes’ gateway reveal a new attitude in the builder and impose a new response on the spectator. This is not a pre-existing building to which the ruler has contributed and in which he has dedicated his thank-offering. It is itself his offering and his prayer of thanks. For all who approach it, it is a permanent commemoration of a ritual act.³⁶

I hope that I have shown that the Alexander dedication is anything but small or difficult to find; nor was the inscription a simple contribution or thank-offering. It is, in fact, the legitimate ancestor for any discussion of the ornamental character of building dedications by the Hellenistic kings – or anyone else of consequence. The Eumenes II dedication of c. 170 B.C. qualifies as one of many offspring, and here the very real differences do have to do with size and location.³⁷ The streamlined, four-word inscription that visually unites King Eumenes in the nominative with Athena Polias in the dative, is well-centered across the three epistyle blocks of the first-story Doric architrave; directly above is the triglyph and blind metope frieze.³⁸ The dedication has moved assertively into its third and final position: the entablature of the building.

Three examples from the island of Delos brilliantly illustrate how the use of the architrave for a monumental dedication can vary as much as the stylobate or wall. My first example is the dedicatory inscription on the architrave of the Portico of Philip V of Macedon, probably erected around 210 B.C., some forty years before the propylon of Eumenes II.³⁹ The single-storied Portico of Philip is strategically placed on the maritime (western) side of the major dromos leading to the sanctuary of Apollo; later additions more than doubled it in size. Directly across from it is the more modest South Portico, also dated to the third century.⁴⁰ Together they contribute to the Hellenistic monumentalization of the dromos, at the north end of which is the propylaia, dedicated in the second century by the Athenians.⁴¹ The dedication of Philip V has been restored from fragmentary remains of six epistyle blocks and one presumed destroyed, all reconstructed at 3.35m in length,⁴² spanning the bays between the eight central columns of a sixteen-column façade. The building proper is restored as having a solid back wall, solid side walls with a continuation of these walls onto the ends of the façade, giving a wrapped feeling to the stoa structure while framing the central colonnade and hence the inscription.⁴³ The inscription is indeed perfectly centered, not only in terms of its total expanse, but literally block by block: one word is allotted per block and each word is centered as an individual unit. This technique may be fully appreciated on two inscribed blocks that are actually preserved unbroken; ironically, they read “king” in the nominative (for Philip) and in the genitive (for his father Demetrios). In R. Vallois’ seven-block restoration, the latter is placed in central position.

The dedication of the Portico of Philip is one of five monumental inscriptions known from the period of the Delian Independence.⁴⁴ According to the analysis given in the *EAD*, the centering technique just described resembles that of the Portico of Antigonos, probably erected slightly earlier in the third quarter of the third century, where the words are already being centered with block divisions in mind, rather than even spacing over the whole of the epistyle:

...le texte se masse au centre de l’édifice sur un petit nombre d’épistyles, l’espace, réduit, perd toute valeur rythmique, et déjà se manifeste une certaine tendance à compter les mots et à les équilibrer. Au portique de Philippe, la rupture est complète: des 21 épistyles de la façade, 14 restent vides; les autres portent chacun un mot, tantôt de 8 lettres, tantôt de 9, avec des distances entre axes aussi irrégulières que les intervalles, les caractères étant trop rapprochés pour que ces détails importent beaucoup.⁴⁵

The charge of non-rhythmic lettering is harsh, certainly in the case of the Portico of Philip, as the letterforms are strong and vigorous; their size alone together with the length of the blocks would have mitigated the sense of cramped word space at a viewing distance. As to the use of the epistyle block as the unit that governs the display of the inscription, this is an interesting development from the standpoint of architectural ornament: the lettering

reinforces the integrity of the epistyle block itself, creating an entirely different rhythmic pattern from that of the Eumenes II propylon at Pergamon. Attention should be given to the serifs on the Portico of Philip inscription as well. They have moved away from the incipient bracket of the Alexander dedication, exhibiting much more of a wedge, even forking in some places.⁴⁶ One of the most visually exciting passages occurs in the king’s name Φίλλιππος from the third block. The large-scale double *pis* with their short, right-side orthostats and wedge serifs on all free ends (a total of eight) contrast beautifully with the simple omicron, smaller in scale, that directly follows; the wave dynamic between these three letterforms recalls the mounting of the horse itself. A very full *sigma* with powerfully reaching horizontals finishes the name and contrasts with the remarkable vertical that pierces the mini-circle for *phi* at the beginning. Most importantly, the treatment of this architrave can hardly have been meant for reading as the viewer passed by. The Portico of Philip demands that, at least on the first visit, the viewer must appreciate the façade of the stoa as the framing device that it is for the inscription, which is fixed very deliberately and symmetrically in the center. The inscription does not unfold letter by letter but as a total dedicatory statement built word by word in its controlled, even static, environment. Because of the studied relationship between the words and the epistyle blocks, the lettering is spaced differently for each one, and hence the whole achieves its own kind of rhythm.

The second example from Delos is the dedicatory inscription from the architrave of the Temple of Sarapis, Isis, and Anubis, located on the Terrace of the Foreign Gods.⁴⁷ The temple stands next to the larger and better-known Temple of Isis and was dedicated to the triad of Egyptian gods by the Athenians and “realized” by Apollodoros, son of Heraios.⁴⁸ This is a more elaborate inscription than the previous examples with the dedication by the Athenians to the three gods occurring in the first line, followed by three lines constituting the multiple dating formula, one of which puts the temple date at 135/4.⁴⁹ The last line identifies the role of Apollodoros. The architrave carrying this inscription is fragmentary and in extremely poor condition, but it has several features that make it a special example of the variation possible in the Hellenistic period. It is made up of three epistyle blocks, the right and left blocks 1.405m in length and the central block 1.27m in length.⁵⁰ This is clearly an Ionic architrave consisting of a blind frieze zone and three fasciae. It is the fasciae that carry the inscription: two lines each for the top fasciae with the final line of the inscription standing alone on the bottom. The three fasciae are gradated in size, from 0.084m, to 0.066m, to 0.05m,⁵¹ and the lettering responds accordingly. The first line is the most prominent, with the letterforms running close to 4cm in height. The three lines that follow are equal in height, around 2.7cm. The last line is comparable, but because it stands alone on the bottom fascia and is very worn today, it seems more diminutive. Each line appears to have been centered on the axis of the

middle epistyle block with wide spacing between words to emphasize their importance. For example, Sarapis in the first line has the central position and is surrounded by the greatest amount of space, strongly separating it from the rest of the text. The lines of the inscription are not contained by the epistyle blocks in the same way as was found on the Portico of Philip; there is no word division as such. The lines, having once been centered, are free to run over the joins between the blocks. The letterforms are strongly serified, which aids in their legibility especially given their smaller size. Wear makes the serifs hard to judge, but they appear to be wedged.

What is striking about the placement of this inscription is the avoidance of the frieze zone for any part of it, most logically the first line, which is larger and carries the weight of the dedication and the important names. Yet the five lines are not jammed into the three fasciae; they are carefully organized in a hierarchy of subject matter, and this leads us to suppose that the frieze should likewise be thought of as part of that hierarchy. Even in the previous examples of dedications on Doric architraves by Hellenistic kings, the actual inscription rides directly above the impost blocks of the columns, on that portion of the epistyle just below the traditional Doric frieze zone. In the case of the Temple of Serapis, Isis, and Anubis, the dedicant is essentially the Athenian state of the second century, and the need for dating formulas tied to the terms of office for public officials and priests is completely unlike that of the Hellenistic rulers. The individual named as the one most directly involved in the building of the temple, a man who in another five years will be gymnasiarch, is nevertheless relegated to the lowest tier in the hierarchy. There is also the issue of legibility and proximity to the viewer of the inscription. Putting the inscription in the frieze zone increases its distance both visually and psychologically from the viewer. I suggest that, in this example, the frieze zone is still being regarded as a more appropriate venue for sculptural embellishment, and even if it is not being used, the inscription should go elsewhere.

The final monument from Delos is the Agora of the Italians and the architraves carrying the dedicatory inscriptions on the inside of the building. This is the largest of the monuments on Delos and its construction dates are late: begun around 110 B.C., interrupted in its construction by the sack of Mithradates in 88, only to be repaired and finally abandoned between 60 and 50 B.C.⁵² The open interior is bounded by two-storied colonnades on all four sides: Doric on the first level surmounted by Ionic. The dedications are carried in these entablatures. Various spaces open off of the colonnades on the first level. Niches and exedras are found all along on the north and west sides; a small bath is located in the northwest corner. Shops located along the south are not accessed through the Agora; rather they are individually approached from the outside street. The east side spaces combine the two forms of access. Among the many analyses vying for the function of the building, the earliest proposed by

J. Hatzfeld has never been disproved and must surely be part of any interpretation: “une sorte d’enclave italienne en terre grecque.”⁵³

Not surprisingly, the inscribed architraves are as complex as the space they surround. Hatzfeld’s views on the subject are again valuable: “J’ai déjà eu l’occasion de dire qu’à mon avis les Italiens de Délos ne constituaient qu’une communauté amorphe. L’étude des dédicaces de l’Agora qu’ils ont fait confirme peut-être cette hypothèse; un *conventus* juridiquement et financièrement organisé aurait, semble-t-il, manifesté son existence par des dédicaces d’un modèle plus uniforme.”⁵⁴ The north and west sides are the most complete and match each other in the disposition of text. On the Doric level,⁵⁵ the donors of the particular portico are named, followed by the recipients of the benefaction: Apollo and the Italians. The inscriptions are exclusively in Greek and were located, as we have seen to be usual, in the area of the epistyle directly below the triglyph and metope frieze. The entire Doric portico on the north side was given by one man, the famed banker Philostratus of Ascalon. In the case of the west portico, multiple donors appear to be involved in the project. The inscriptions of the Ionic entablature on the north and west are bilingual⁵⁶ and consist of the same basic subject matter in terms of donors and beneficiaries for these porticos. The great difference is that monumental Latin letterforms now fill the frieze zone of the architrave, with Greek text relegated to the topmost of the fasciae. On the south and east, the Doric entablature is very poorly preserved and may combine Greek and/or Latin for the dedication,⁵⁷ but the Ionic level is better preserved and features monumental Latin followed by monumental Greek in the frieze zone only.⁵⁸

There are some very obvious and important differences in this series of inscriptions when compared to anything we have looked at before. I do see the group as a climax. To begin, the building multiplies the stoa arrangement four times and then doubles it again by adding a second story. The opportunity for monumental lettering to identify all parts of this major building activity could not be richer, but when we describe the building as unfinished, it is possible that the text also is incomplete.⁵⁹ In neither the Doric nor the Ionic entablatures, however, do the donors take second position; their individual names are listed first, followed by the recipients of the dedication: the god Apollo, ever present at Delos, whose name does at least occur before that of the Italians. Pursuing the Hellenistic proclivity to put the dedication ever higher in the entablature, this two-storied stoa certainly offers the higher level. And in the Ionic entablature as it is preserved on all four sides of the Agora of the Italians, the frieze zone is utilized at last. Despite the greater height of the Greek letters that we know stood over the Doric porticoes on the north and west, by my theory, the Ionic frieze zone on the second level should be read as the more prestigious location, but this may be too rigid for the given circumstances.⁶⁰ Driving the hierarchical point home, Italian or Greek on the ground level far below, the grand winner in the Ionic

frieze is the Latin letterform, coming first in the bilingual arrangement.

The individual design of these monumental letters also reveals a mix of Roman and Greek sensibilities. The finest example is the serified tail of the Q from the Ionic frieze that occurs in the broken name of one of the donors.⁶¹ It is unique in the series. The serif is clearly forked, however, not bracketed or wedged. Overall, the serifs from the series are a complicated study in themselves, with elements of the bracket tradition, the wedge, and the strong forking that distinguish the larger body of Hellenistic Greek inscriptions. The various hands employed for this task must also be considered a factor in accounting for these many differences.

This article has had two goals. The title reflects the first: to show how lettering functioned as ornament in Greek architecture. This, however, has necessitated clarification of “ornament”, never the easiest of art historical terms. The link between ornament and architecture is an ancient one. In the nineteenth century Owen Jones was really drawing on Vitruvius for the first of his thirty-seven principles. Vitruvius and Jones are extremely close in their recognition of the role of proportion in the form of Greek ornament. The important difference is in how these writers perceive *meaning*. Because Vitruvius considers ornament to imitate those elements of the Greek architectural orders (Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian) that reflect their initial engineering (e.g. the triglyph and metope frieze that reflects the original wooden joist system),⁶² it is relatively easy for him to claim meaning in ornament. However, because Jones so appreciates the increased abstraction of the imitation in a variety of media, there suddenly comes a point of no return that forces him to break the connection with meaning. If we ask which of these solutions is more Greek, Vitruvius certainly has the closer temporal and topographical ties. Yet both Vitruvius and Jones strongly suggest that ornament and architecture are closely linked and that the Greeks themselves understood this link perfectly. Over time, the link has influenced human experience profoundly and renews our interest in the elusive definition of ornament.

As stated above, Vitruvius defines *ornamenta* as the specific features that make the classical orders what they are. They are givens, not something added later. Vitruvius also uses the word in a looser way, but still related to the orders, for example when he compares the Ionic order to a woman with its greater embellishments.⁶³ But Doric and Ionic orders are fundamentally different from the Corinthian in this very respect: they are defined by ornaments related to their structure as architecture; Corinthian is defined by the design or motif of its capital alone, not the holistic architectural support of which the capital is only a part. Indeed, this tension between structure and embellishment in the definition of ornament proves to be one of its most consistent and controversial by-products over time.

How can any of this relate to Greek lettering,

born out of the Phoenician alphabet but very soon proceeding on its own way through epichoric variations to become the most influential writing system in Western civilization? This article begins answering the question for epigraphic documents. It is important to understand how architectural the alphabet is to begin with, and how that architectonic quality is passed to the epigraphic document it produces:

The prevailing civic function of epigraphy and the fact that stone inscriptions were made to be placed outside in open spaces had had a determining influence on the general appearance and overall graphic style of the ceremonial epigraphy of classical Greece and Rome. In this form, the rigid geometric shape, the studied relationship between empty and full spaces, the harmonious layout, the carefully calculated use of different sizes of letters depending on where the inscription was to be placed and on its height from the ground, and the shading of the lettering achieved through V-cut carving all contributed to create a particular effect, which was a harmonious and impressive appearance along with maximum legibility in natural light out of doors.⁶⁴

There is one flaw in the above citation, a misapprehension made by many in their assessment of the V-cut: the letterform, no matter how it is produced,⁶⁵ if inpainted as inscriptions were in antiquity, becomes flat. There may be some chance for three-dimensional shadowing, but it is greatly reduced and, if the letterform were actually filled with paint, none whatsoever. Furthermore, it is the monoline Greek letterform in its even-weighted glory that is the foundation of the Greek alphabet. It relates directly to the Geometric aesthetic of the period in which the alphabet manifests and to the first inscriptions, such as that on the “Nestor’s Cup” from Pithecoussi.⁶⁶ In this spirit, I would suggest that the monoline Greek letterform, which Morison makes clear is its first and chief characteristic, is the calligraphic equivalent of the Doric order. Turning to the role of the serif and the way it ultimately transforms the Greek monoline by weighting the free terminals, embellishing them with a variety of endstrokes, I suggest the terminology “Ionic” for the serified letterform.⁶⁷

The second goal of this article was to explore the concept of lettering as ornament in Greek architecture through a series of building dedications, demonstrating how such a genre of architectural inscription could become wedded to parts of the building and coherently change positions over time. Not all genres necessarily inspire a theory of development. Rykwert’s observation that Greek buildings regularly carry inscriptions, sometimes cut in any variety of manner, mixed in subject matter and period, brings us relentlessly back to the overall issue of ornament. Is architectural lettering always ornamental? The use of inscription for labeling in an architecturally-presented narrative changes the image field completely at the structural level, as in the friezes from the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon. The massing of text on a wall is always an ornamental act regardless of whether the text is the Gortyn Law Code on Crete, the free-form, packed

inscriptions on the wall of the gymnasium at Priene, or the bilingual *Res Gestae* in Ankara. The act transforms the wall and embellishes it.

In *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi*, George Hersey takes the Latin verb *ornare* to set a new course of discussion.⁶⁸ The meaning, “to prepare, to furnish, to equip,” addresses the symbolic and emblematic potential of ornament that is quite different from “an urge to beautify.” Architectural sculpture of a figural nature equips the building differently from a series of moldings. Yet moldings, as we have seen, carry signification. Inscriptions are frankly more simple, at least by themselves: usually their purpose is to actively clarify, although they, too, can become emblematic. A closing example demonstrates Hersey’s provocative definition perfectly. It is the Hellenistic funerary monument of Theodoros, described as being in the shape of a temple entablature.⁶⁹ But this is not the “usual” funerary stele with an inscribed architectural head. Inscribed in the middle of a tier of three friezes, the simple name Theodoros exclusively occupies its own zone. It is framed above by an elaborate Doric frieze alternating triglyphs with omphalic *phiai* carved in the metopes, and below by a rich Ionic running frieze alternating a Greek key with a *knielauf* motif. With these friezes surmounted by a pediment embellished with rosettes, volutes, and central anthemion and crowned with acroteria, the inscription is indeed well-furnished with ornament. The lettering, however, codifies all of the other ornamentation on the monument because the name Θεόδωρος enables the small circular forms (Θ, Ο, Ω, Ο) to alternate with full-scale letters built with strong orthostats (Ε, Δ, Ρ, Σ), echoing the same rhythmic pattern as the relief friezes. The artist has marked the difference masterfully with the strong wedge serifs of the free terminals. The Theodoros inscription and the series of which it is a part bring the Alexander inscription at Priene to fruition for the common man and stand as exemplars par excellence of the concepts put forward here.

Notes

- Jones 2001, 23. This is one of the most important works ever written in the history of ornament and design. Mention should be made of the edition used, which keeps Jones’ text while adding contemporary commentary. It is printed as a handbook, rather than in the original and costly folio format, all of which attests to the ongoing relevancy, indeed popularity, of Jones’ work.
- Jones 2001, 93.
- Jones 2001, 92.
- Jones 2001, 90–91.
- Hellenic Ministry of Culture 2002, 24–25. The separation of religious documents such as sacred laws and *fasti*, from public decrees and laws, as opposed to keeping them as a subcategory (*IG I³*), is certainly notable. Public and private do not normally divide so easily in the ancient world, except perhaps in funerary inscriptions.
- Meritt 1940, 47. Meritt’s suggestion made some difference in epigraphical methodology but his idea advanced only so far.
- The vocabulary of the smaller units of classical ornament is related to the orders themselves and what distinguishes the structure of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. See Rowland and Howe 1999, 211 (commentary on *Vitr. De arch.* 4.1–2): “There are two aspects to Vitruvius’s historical analysis of the origins of architectural form: the symmetries, or proportions of each type, and the formal vocabularies (‘ornamenta’ or ‘membra’)...; the formal vocabularies derive from analyzing and abstracting the principles of timber roof structure (Doric and Ionic, 4.2) or vegetal representation (Corinthian, 4.1.8–10).”
- Woodbridge 1991, 7.
- Rykwert 1996, 234.
- Bommelaer 1991, fig. 56.
- Onians 1999, 7, explicating *Pl. Tht.* 202, 203.
- Meiggs and Lewis 1988, no. 25. The inscription is problematic in its dating: which victory of the Athenians is to be associated with the dedication? Pausanias associated it with the Peloponnesian War and the victory of Phormio in 429 B.C. and went on to describe the inscribed war trophies of the allied enemies (10.11.6). Meiggs and Lewis give a span of 510 to 470 B.C. to the dedication on the stylobate based on letterforms.
- It is to be remembered that the polygonal wall makes the turn east up to the temple, establishing a unique connection between the stoa and the temple precinct.
- Bommelaer 1991, fig. 55, 59, 60.
- See Onians 1999, 186–7, for discussion of the base as a component of a monument and differences between the Greeks and the Romans in their use of inscriptions on bases.
- Rykwert mentions the Archaic example from the Temple of Apollo at Syracuse (*supra* n. 9), where the inscription on the stylobate of the east entrance (*SEG* 31.841) is a dedication to Apollo by the individual who made the temple, probably the architect. See Jeffery 1990, 265, no. 3, and Guarducci 1995, 343–344. The stylobate and second step are cut from the same blocks, an exceptional detail.
- ID* 68, A and B. See Butz 1994, 69–98, for the republication of the second lintel with a span of dates for the inscription that could go to the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.
- Onians 1979, 14–15.
- IvPr* 156. The inscription is pictured in several of the works cited: Onians 1979, fig. 10; Heisserer 1980, pl. 14; Morison 1972, figs 2 and 3.
- These are my measurements from the copy (ἐκτύπος) of the inscription very kindly supplied by the British Museum. See also Heisserer 1980, 144, whose measurements for the individual letterforms are very close to my own.
- Carter 1983, 26; Heisserer 1980, 146.
- Heisserer 1980, 142.
- IvPr* 1. Heisserer 1980, 151. Heisserer records a span of 0.035m to 0.050m, “slightly smaller than that of the temple dedication.” The low measurements appear to be associated with circular forms, omicron and omega.
- IvPr* 37. Heisserer 1980, 145. The decree is long and continues below the dedication block.
- Carter mentions the possibility, as others have done, that the temple was unfinished at the time of the dedication and the anta was employed for that reason (1983, 31). But I believe the anta was the deliberate and politically

- correct choice. Alexander certainly could have waited for the entablature or commissioned the inscription in advance for that location. The anta makes sense for its connection to the polis archive, including *IvPr* 1, as well as for the asymmetry of its location, a quality still very much in the Greek spirit. See Bean 1979, 164–5, for the dedication later made to Augustus on the architrave.
- 26 Carter 1983, 29–30. Carter refers to the “proud refusal” of the Ephesians, but the passage in Strabo (14.1.22) that tells of Alexander’s efforts at Ephesus actually records an answer that may better be described as brilliant: it was not appropriate for a god to dedicate a temple to a god. See Bean 1979, 130, who calls the refusal courteous.
- 27 Heisserer 1980, 157. Alexander’s exact role in the re-foundation of the city with its new grid plan is debated. The date for the refounding is given by Heisserer as “sometime during the latter half of the fourth century.” He points out that some scholars, including the excavator Thomas Wiegand, postulates Alexander himself to have been the founder; others, including Hiller von Gaertringen, argue that Alexander was on the scene in 334 B.C. after the battle of Granicus, at which time the temple would have been dedicated. But as Heisserer points out there is no literary evidence for the visit, and he avoids the date of 334 B.C. for the temple dedication. It is worth noting that Priene had an Alexandrion, attested to epigraphically (Bean 1979, 162, 178).
- 28 The name of the architect Pytheos is attested in Vitruvius, 1.1.12, who commends him for his design of the Athena temple at Priene. Vitruvius goes on to list Pytheos’ treatise on the Ionic features of the temple in the Preface to Book 7 at 12, among other architectural works on the orders. Carter states, “The Temple of Athena Polias was perhaps the single most influential building of the so-called ‘Ionian renaissance’ of the second half of the fourth century B.C. This must certainly have been due in part to Pytheos’ book on the subject in which he elaborated his new canon of the Ionic order” (1983, 31). The temple entablature is especially famous for its rich system of moldings and absence of a frieze zone.
- 29 Heisserer 1980, 144.
- 30 For the definition of rectified stoichedon, see Butz 1994, 93, n. 64.
- 31 Morison 1972, 7.
- 32 Heisserer 1980, 144.
- 33 Morison 1972, 8.
- 34 Morison accepts very readily Alexander’s postulated visit to Priene in 334 B.C. (so does Bean 1979, 162), tying it to the date of the inscription. Morison’s elevation of the Alexander dedication in the following statement is what really matters here: “That is to say, every publishing house in the Latin and Anglo-Saxon world uses characters whose strokes terminate in the fashion to be seen in this monumental commemoration of the visit to Priene of Alexander before, it is believed, the spring of 334, when he set forth to invade Asia (1972, 11).
- 35 Morison 1972, 11.
- 36 Onians 1979, 107.
- 37 Onians 1979, fig. 109.
- 38 The second story of the propylon is in the Ionic order, complete with Ionic frieze, fasciae, and relief parapet. There is no inscription on the second-story entablature.
- 39 *IG* XI.4, 1099; Bruneau and Ducat 1983, 117.
- 40 Bruneau and Ducat 1983, 118.
- 41 Bruneau and Ducat 1983, 119.
- 42 Vallois 1923, 5, fig. 5. The seventh block is a complete reconstruction as no part of it survives. It is postulated, however, thus creating an uneven number of inscribed epistyle blocks. The verb ἀνέθηκεν would stand on this final block. I have reservations about the need to reconstruct either the verb or the block. These dedications will become increasingly streamlined, visually and textually, as seen in the Eumenes II example, and for a purpose: the ruler and the deity are brought ever closer together. The block is not needed to form a symmetrical arrangement, as will be shown above.
- 43 Vallois 1923, pl. 2 and 4.
- 44 Vallois 1923 159.
- 45 Vallois 1923, 160.
- 46 Morison discusses the occurrence of the wedged serif in a number of examples from the third and second centuries B.C. One of the best that he shows is also from the reign of Philip V, a decree from Rhodes dated 202–201 B.C. (1972, 9–11; fig. 6).
- 47 *ID* 2042.
- 48 The verb is ἐποίησεν. But Apollodoros, son of Heraios, is also known from *ID* 2589, a list of gymnasiarchs, where he is listed as gymnasiarch for 130/29 B.C. and carries the demotic Σουνιεύς.
- 49 The most helpful part of the dating formula is given in *Il.* 4–5 by the name in the genitive of the priest of Serapis, Ζήνωνος τοῦ [Ε]ὐρυ<ή>μο[ν]ος Ἀν[α]φλυστίου, who served in 135/4 B.C. according to *ID* 2610, l. 7, where he is listed simply as Ζήνων Ἀναφλύστιος.
- 50 *ID* 2042.
- 51 *ID* 2042.
- 52 Bruneau and Ducat 1983, 166.
- 53 Cited in Bruneau and Ducat 1983, 167.
- 54 Hatzfeld 1921, 486. I have undertaken a new study of the architraves of the Agora of the Italians as part of my work on the bilingual Greek and Latin inscriptions at Delos. My purpose is to approach the dedications from the standpoint of their fundamental bilingualism and to better assess their influence on the space they encompass. See Butz 1999, 311–316, for a preliminary publication.
- 55 *ID* 1717 for the north Doric, *ID* 1683 for the west Doric.
- 56 *ID* 1687 for the north Ionic, *ID* 1735 for the west Ionic.
- 57 *ID* 1684 for south and east Doric.
- 58 *ID* 1685 for south Ionic, *ID* 1686 for east Ionic.
- 59 There are places where the letterforms are cut using a dotted technique, and in that sense some of the lettering certainly is less finished, although the choice may have been deliberate. Hatzfeld is largely responsible for the restoration of the text in *ID*, and the various breaks that occur there that might reflect missing names or names not yet added.
- 60 I am thinking of the major dedication of Philostratos on the north, since he gave the entire Doric portico. Perhaps it is too much to wish that he had given the Ionic as well.
- 61 Butz 1999, 315, fig. 1, 2, 3.
- 62 See *supra* n. 7.
- 63 *Vitr. De arch.* 4.1.7.
- 64 Petrucci 1993, 2.
- 65 Note Morison’s use of the word “sculptor” instead of “mason” or “cutter” for the artist who executes the text. In the captions to his epigraphic illustrations, he regularly uses the expression “sculptured capitals.” See Morison 1972, especially figs 4, 5, 6. Indeed, the physical cutting of letters is a sculptural activity.

- 66 Guarducci 1995, 226–227, fig. 88a. Guarducci dates the inscription to the second half of the eighth century B.C.
- 67 In my study of the “Hekatompedon Inscription,” I have identified extensions on certain of these extraordinary letterforms as the first serifs in Greek epigraphy and termed them *segmented foot serifs*. They are, in fact, terminal strokes but they are not weighted. See Butz 1995, 64–68. I consider the Alexander dedication, as does Morison, to be critical for the later development.
- 68 Hersey 1988, 149.
- 69 Demakopoulou and Konsola 1981, 77 and no. 60. One of a series at the Archaeological Museum of Thebes. A similar example is in the collection of the Benaki Museum in Athens. I hope to offer a study of the series in the future. I date the monument of Theodoros to the late fourth, early third centuries B.C. based on the letterforms.

The Origins of the Corinthian Capital

David Scahill

The Corinthian capital – like all capitals – has the dual function of being a structural element of a building that also serves as ornament.¹ When used structurally, its function is to transfer the load from the entablature to the column. As ornament, it is sculptural in the most literal sense. Interestingly, the origin of the Corinthian capital is the subject of an anecdote recorded by the Roman architect Vitruvius. His story helps to establish a possible meaning for the origin of the form and its constituent design elements. Indeed, Vitruvius' tale imbues Corinthian capitals with special meaning. The problem, of course, is that Vitruvius wrote and explained the origins of a capital invented roughly 350 years before his time. However, when we trace the design elements that constitute the Corinthian capital there are, in fact, interesting parallels with Vitruvius' text.

On the face of it, Vitruvius' story regarding the origin of the Corinthian capital might be dismissed as mere art historical myth-making. Indeed, when he turns to discuss the Corinthian he qualifies his remarks, saying, "it is said that the invention of this type of capital occurred in the following manner."² Like the origins of the Doric and Ionic orders, the origins of the Corinthian are uncertain. The basic story that Vitruvius tells is straightforward: a kalathos bearing funeral offerings was conveyed to the grave of a deceased young girl, was placed on the top of the tomb and was covered with a tile. The kalathos rested on top of an acanthus root, causing the acanthus leaves to spread around it and curl over in volutes at the sides (Fig. 4.1). Seeing this, the sculptor Kallimachos (who, Vitruvius points out, was given the name *katatechnos* by the Athenians for the elegance and refinement of his marble carving) created a column based on this model.³ Kallimachos also fixed the proportions of the order and is said to have made the columns while "at" or "nearby" Corinth, or "among" the Corinthians.⁴ The particulars are not given.

Are there particular aspects of this story that might



Fig. 4.1. Drawing of the invention of the Corinthian capital as told by Vitruvius. Copper engraving of Fréart de Chambray, 1650. Drawing after Rykwert, p. 319.

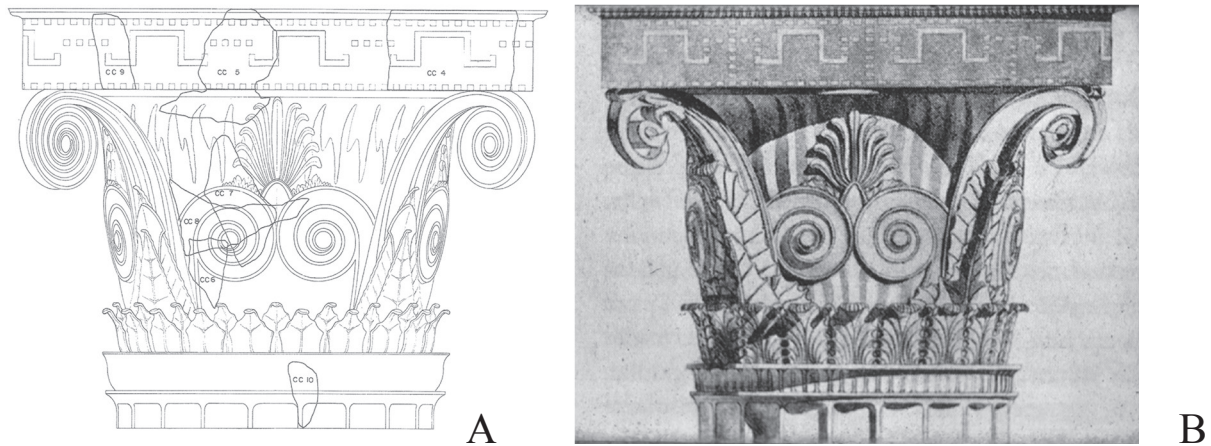


Fig. 4.2. Corinthian capital at Bassai. A) Drawing: after Cooper 1996, pl. 50 d. B) Drawing after Roux 1961, pl. 17.

have a factual basis? Three obvious connections present themselves. First, there is a connection between late fifth century funeral monuments and both the kalathos and the acanthus plant. Second, there is a well documented association between the Corinthian capital and the city of Corinth. Third and finally, Kallimachos was, in fact, an Athenian craftsman known to the Romans for his artistry in marble carving and his work in bronze and gold. Earlier scholars have examined all of these associations. Specifically, they have pursued the idea that Corinthian capitals were somehow connected to metalworking. Traditionally – and in a rather circular fashion – this idea has been based on Kallimachos' known association with metalworking and his connection (via Vitruvius) with the invention of the Corinthian capital.⁵ Scholars have not been able to identify a clear prototype with metal attachments that might be connected chronologically and geographically with earliest extant Corinthian capitals.⁶

The earliest Corinthian capital for which we have evidence is the example from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, examined and drawn by Haller Von Hallerstein in 1811 and 1812 and by Thomas Allason between 1814 and 1817 (Fig. 4.2).⁷ The fragments studied by Cooper add useful information to what Haller described and drew in his notebooks. A somewhat similar example, although slightly later in date, comes from the tholos in the Marmaria at Delphi (Fig. 4.3).⁸

The essential design elements of the early Corinthian capitals from Bassai and from the Delphic tholos are the kalathos, leaf decoration (including acanthus), volutes, central palmette, spirals, and abacus. According to Haller, the kalathos of the Bassai capital was painted with a petal leaf design. It is clear from Haller's drawing that the ornamental relief work on the Bassai capital is fairly restrained. The same is true of the decoration on the Delphi capitals.⁹

The Corinthian capitals from Bassai and Delphi were set up in the interior of their respective buildings. The earliest extant Corinthian capitals used on the exterior of a building are the ones that adorn the monument of

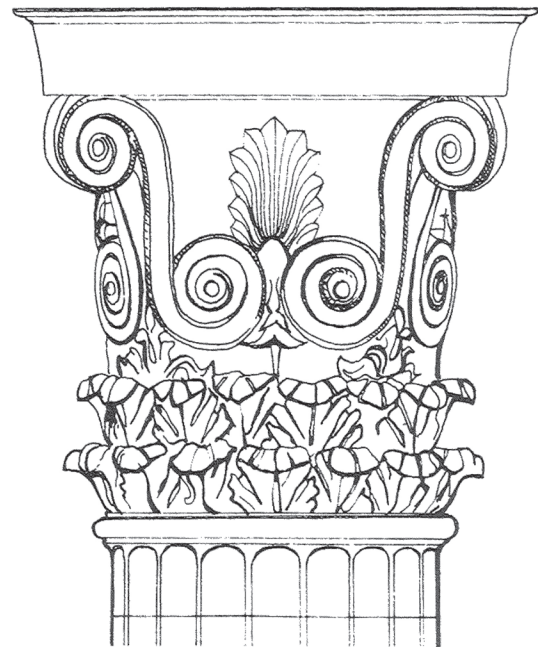


Fig. 4.3. Reconstruction of the Corinthian capital from the tholos in the Marmaria at Delphi. Drawing after Pedersen 1989, fig. 21.

Lysicrates dated to 335/4 B.C.¹⁰ The relative importance of the distinction between interior and exterior use of Corinthian capitals is interesting and deserves elaboration. Early placement of Corinthian capitals in the interior, as opposed to the exterior, of a temple or tholos might suggest that the order had a special role or significance. It is true that the Corinthian capital, being multisided, obviates the problem of corner design and that it is ideal for use in tholoi and interior spaces where it would be viewed from multiple angles. But what else can be said?

If we take the the Bassai and Marmaria capitals as a starting point, the essential elements are a kalathos core, a variety of ornamental leaves including acanthus, spirals, volutes and palmettes and a crowning abacus.

Although the Bassai and Delphi capitals are obviously of Corinthian design, the capitals that come afterwards are far more elaborate. The Corinthian capital from the tholos at Epidauros, for example, can be taken as a fully developed Greek type.¹¹ By the Roman period, the proportions and decoration did become – in a Vitruvian sense – canonical, although a vast array of variation continue to exist; Vitruvian proportions are never strictly adhered to (Fig. 4.4).¹² The capitals from Bassai and Delphi should thus be seen as examples from an early stage in the development of Corinthian design with the understanding the development probably was not linear and may have been the product of multiple lines of influence.

Indeed, the lines of influence that may lead to these

two capital types are difficult to pin down. In order to trace the development back to possible prototypes, one useful approach might be to examine the distinct design elements in multiple contexts.

If we break down the parts of the capital into separate categories of decorative motifs, interesting patterns emerge. The kalathos has strong associations with funerary customs; Vitruvius picked up on this theme.¹³ As a vessel, the form is already present in the Geometric period and kalathoi were depicted in the fifth century B.C. vases associated with graves, especially on white ground lekythoi (Fig. 4.5).¹⁴ At the same time, the “bell”-like shape of the kalathos, Dinsmoor stressed, also has a tradition in “Aeolic basket capitals” of the Archaic period, illustrated the Clazomenian

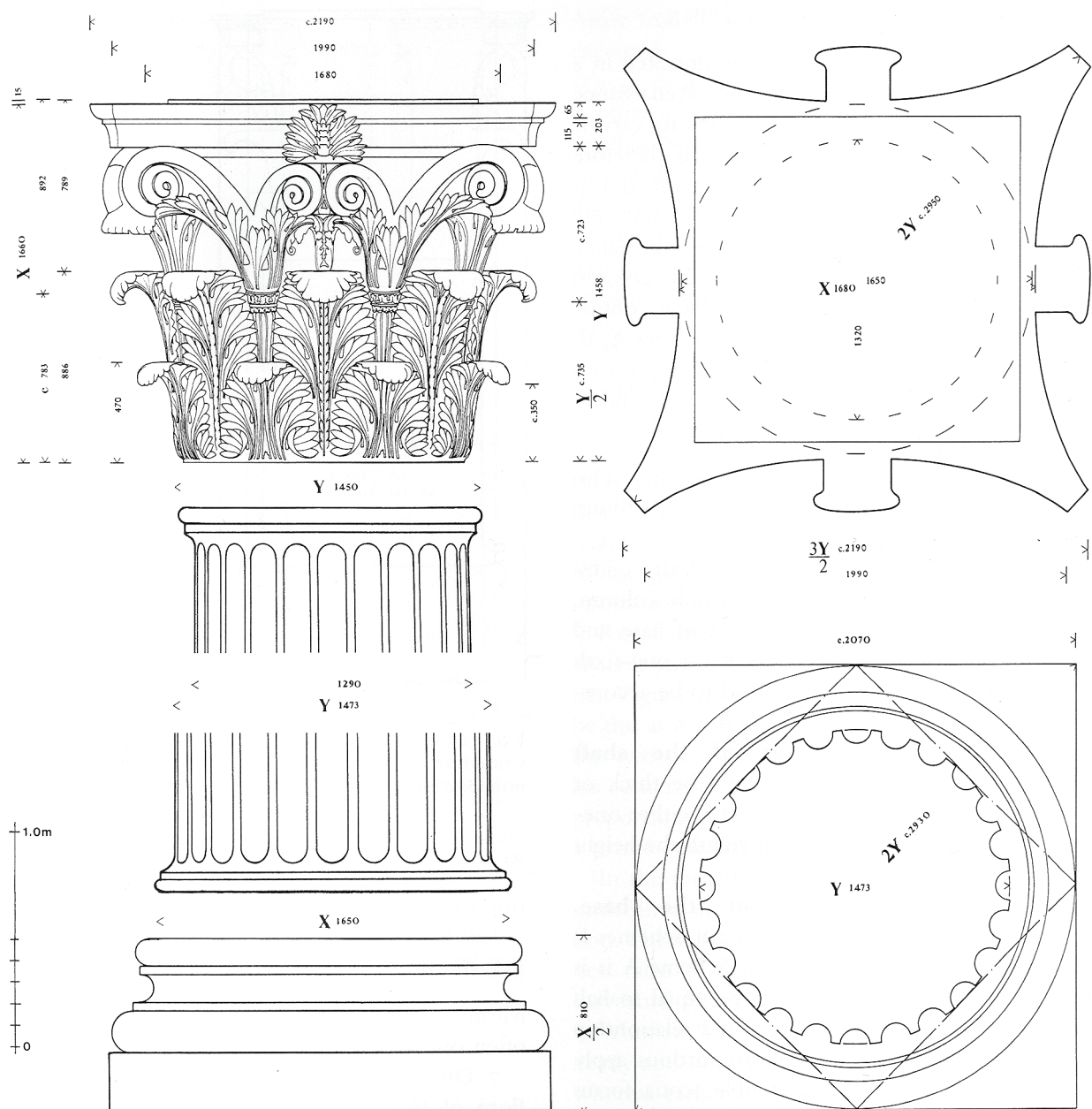


Fig. 4.4. “Standard” Roman Corinthian Capital. Drawing after Wilson-Jones 2000, fig. 7.28.

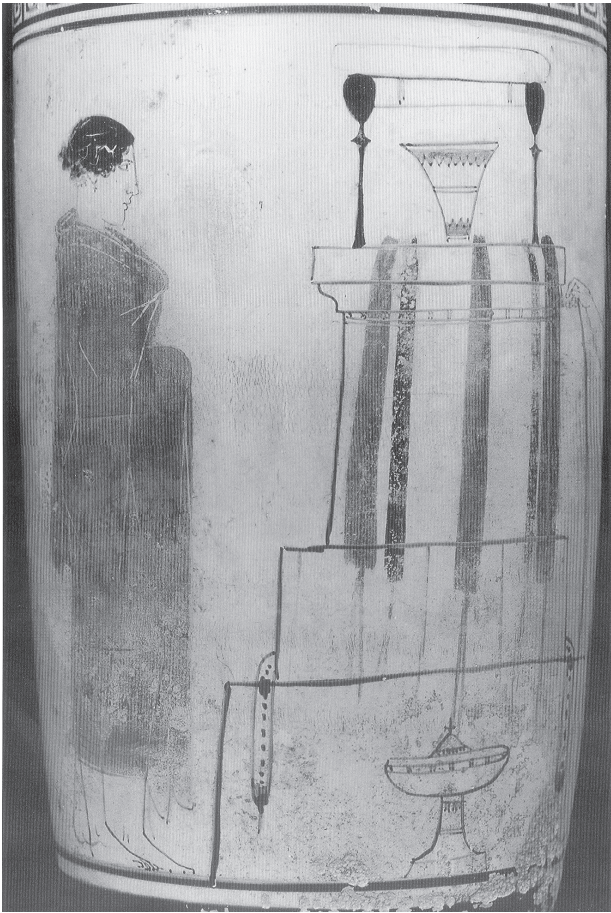


Fig. 4.5. White ground lekythos depicting a kalathos on top of a tomb monument. Photo after Oakley 1997, pl. 117 A.



Fig. 4.6. White ground lekythos, depicting acanthus leaves, spirals and palmette on a tomb monument. Drawing after Homolle 1916, fig. 22.

and Massiliot treasuries at Delphi. These capitals seem to be a variant form of capitals with leaf design.¹⁵ It is possible that they represent a parallel development to Corinthian capitals that culminates in palm capitals like those of Pergamene type.¹⁶ In any case, it is not possible to firmly conclude that these archaic palm leaf capitals influenced Corinthian capital design. Even so, it is clear that in the archaic period there was a tradition of attaching leaf patterns to a central core. Finally, the form of the kalathos also resembles a taller version of the Doric and Ionic echinus. The Ionic echinus has decoration either painted or carved, but it is often overlooked that the Doric echinus could have painted decoration as well, and there are examples of Doric capitals with leaf patterns carved into the echinus (Fig. 4.7).¹⁷

The kalathos is not the only aspect of Corinthian design that can be connected to funerary contexts. Acanthus leaves combined with spirals and palmettes are shown crowning grave stelai on white-ground lekythoi in the fifth century B.C. (Fig. 4.6). The acanthus plant appears to be drawn by the artist not as decoration but as a real plant growing from the top of the stele, strengthening the association of the form with growth and regeneration.¹⁸ At what point meaning became subsumed into a more

generalized architectural vocabulary of decoration – if in fact we should understand it thus – is another matter. Other palmette motifs are more readily traced in Aeolic and Ionic design.¹⁹ Palmettes on a central axis suggest derivation from Aeolic and Ionic capitals with central palmettes, which are prevalent by the fifth century B.C.²⁰ The palmette, however, nearly disappears from the so-called canonical repertoire of Corinthian design in the Roman period and is replaced by other plant motifs, especially rosettes.

There is more to work with when it comes to volutes. These can be traced to Aeolic design, but, as with the volutes of Ionic capitals, their inspiration is more probably a combination of Near Eastern and mainland spiral designs that can be traced through metal work on votive objects.²¹ Spirals and volutes also appear as crowning members of funerary stelai by the Archaic period in Greece. An example of an Archaic stele capital, dated to 500 B.C., from Megara Hyblaea in Sicily, is often shown as an early example of the combination of double volute, or spiral scrolls, with a central palmette.²² While it does not have acanthus leaves, the Megara Hyblaea capital bears a striking resemblance to the early Corinthian capitals from Bassai and Delphi.

By the time all these elements come together to form the Corinthian capital, their use in other architectural contexts is already well established. Especially noteworthy, again, is their use within the context of funerary architecture. It is interesting how closely this archaeological evidence corresponds to Vitruvius' anecdote.

What about the association of Kallimachos? From Pausanias, we learn that Kallimachos was known for making the golden lamp in the Erechtheion and his participation with the decoration in this building suggests that he was considered one of the best craftsmen available.²³ Whether or not he actually did make the first Corinthian capital, it is understandable how the association of his name with the invention of such an ornate and distinct form could have occurred; but why Kallimachos and not some other well known craftsman? And why Corinth?

The association of Kallimachos with the Corinthian capital was explored in depth during the latter part of the 19th and early 20th centuries by Chipiez, Choisy and Homolle.²⁴ These early scholars drew out the connection between the notoriety of Corinthian bronze in antiquity and the story of the invention of the Corinthian capital presented by Vitruvius, noting that Kallimachos was famous for bronze work as well as the invention of the running drill for carving long, fine details.²⁵

Besides being a major center of artistic production and trade commanding a position on both sides of the Mediterranean, Corinth, by the Hellenistic period, was also known for the production of a particularly high quality of bronze.²⁶ Pliny makes several remarks regarding Corinthian bronze. Quoting an ancient authority, Pliny says that the Porticus Octavius, built by Gnaeus Octavius, in the Campus Martius was called the Corinthian portico, because of its bronze capitals.²⁷ The term "Corinthian" in other words, became synonymous with bronze capitals.

Roux devoted a section on Corinthian capitals to the question of metallic origins; he agreed that the name "Corinthian" could have come from a tradition of metal

attachments.²⁸ Attaching metal decoration to a kalathos core would be a more costly process but a simpler one than carving the decoration in stone. It would also have a different visual effect. However, Roux argued that no evidence for metal attachments existed before the Hellenistic period. In fact, a tradition of attaching metal decoration to capitals did exist in the fifth century B.C. in the Ionic order.

In terms of material evidence, few examples of bronze architectural ornaments have survived.²⁹ Examples of such ornamentation, however, do exist from the Geometric to the Roman period. There are also several examples of stone architectural members with attachment points preserved.³⁰ Most importantly for us, the Ionic capitals of the Erechtheion provide solid examples where evidence for bronze attachment is preserved on the capitals themselves. This can be corroborated by the Erechtheion building accounts.

The Erechtheion accounts provide unambiguous evidence for the fashioning of wax models of bronze rosettes and acanthus for the coffers of the Erechtheion.³¹ Payment is made for the model (*παράδειγμα*) of the bronze rosettes and the model of the acanthus, for the cover slabs or coffers (*καλύμματα*) of the ceiling.³² The use of bronze adornment of the building's architecture is thus certain. More significantly, metal rods also exist on the bolsters of the Erechtheion's Ionic capitals for the attachment of a bronze ornament. This bronze ornament could have been a floral design in the form of garlands or wreaths, which was a common motif carved or painted on Ionic bolsters (Fig. 4.7).³³ This evidence can be matched by the Ionic capitals flanking the central passageway of the Propylaia on the Athenian Acropolis which have holes drilled into the upper surface of the echinus and abacus to support a bronze attachment. On the basis of examples in stone, a bronze palmette design can be tentatively restored.³⁴

What is certain, then, is that by the middle of the fifth century B.C., at least in Athens, we have evidence of metal

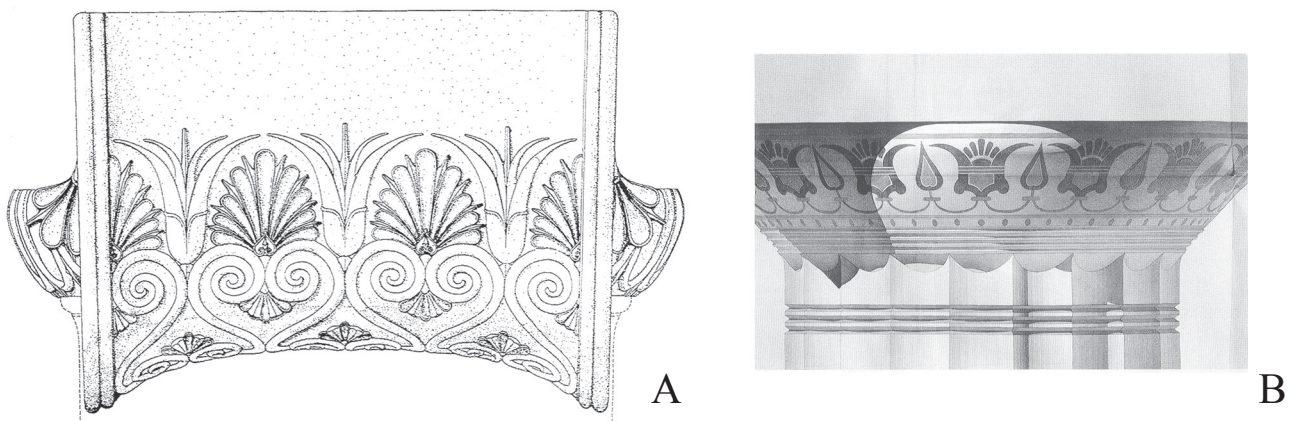


Fig. 4.7. A) Restoration of the Ionic capital from the Polykratian temple on Samos by Gruben, dated c.470 B.C. Drawing after Gruben 1986, abb. 337. B) Painted Doric capital, Temple of Zeus at Olympia (*envoi de Rome de V. Laloux 1883, pl. 10*). Drawing after Hellman 2002, fig. 185.



Fig. 4.8. Model of the Ionic capital from the Propylaia (David Johnson) with palmette design suggested by Manolis Kones.

attachments applied as architectural ornament, specifically the adornment of capitals. Interesting for us, the choice of motifs centered chiefly around acanthus, rosettes, and – in the case of the Propylaia capitals – possibly a large palmette.

Kallimachos' association with the Erechtheion would mean that he was aware of (if not involved in) the making of bronze and gold architectural attachments. This connection lends some weight to the idea that he may have created a prototype capital in, or using, metal. In this sense, it is easy to see how Vitruvius or his sources might make the association. It is also reasonable that a connection between Corinth and Corinthian bronze would be associated with the first capital of this new type if, in fact, it was made with bronze attachments or if a version of a Corinthian capital existed in metal.

At Corinth there is a kalathos capital, now assigned to a building of the fourth century B.C., that can be tentatively restored with metal attachments (Fig. 4.8).³⁵ The capital was found in early excavations in the area of the Peribolos of Apollo. Both the capital and column were carved together out of a single block of limestone and together the total preserved length is approximately 0.65m. The bottom section of the column has been broken off. The preserved shaft is comprised of flutes measuring 0.045m, with fillets 0.005m in width. One side of the shaft has been shaved down flat in a section comprising the width of two flutes. Right above this section is a cutting for a socket, approximately 0.13m² and 0.04m in depth. It would appear that this cutting and the flat section below were intended to take a screen or wall, between this column and the next.³⁶ A definitely later, secondary cutting has taken out a large section of one side, but based on the width of the preserved flutes and the total diameter of the shaft, there would be space for twenty flutes. The top of the shaft is crowned by a fillet and astragal, or half-round.

On top of the column is a kalathos-shaped capital that is important for us.³⁷ Restored, the capital has an upper diameter of 0.38m, tapering to 0.31m in the middle before



Fig. 4.9. Kalathos capital at Corinth. Photo by Author.

widening slightly again toward its base. The total height of the kalathos is 0.33m. At the base of the capital is a recess, 0.005m in depth, 0.01m high. The base of the capital is offset *ca.* 0.035m from the edge of the top of the shaft. The maximum diameter of the kalathos equals the maximum diameter of the top of the shaft. In the upper bearing surface of the kalathos a central cutting roughly 0.07m² and 0.05m in depth can be observed. The capital and column are of local limestone, with occasional pitting. The entire surface, excluding the top, was given a coat of white stucco, traces of which are preserved. The kalathos lacks an abacus. If one did exist it could have been held in place by using the rectangular cutting in the upper surface.

As to the process of carving the kalathos of this column, there are indications that it was turned on a lathe. Distinct horizontal incised lines can be seen in many places under the stucco on the surface. This would also

explain the large size of the central cutting in the top, which was probably used to secure it to a lathe. No traces of decoration applied in paint were observed; however, it is possible that the stuccoed surface of the kalathos might also have been painted. There is also no evidence of a pattern in the preservation of the stucco to indicate decoration in paint.

There are very few indications as to the date of this capital and column. The capital does not fall into a known type that can be stylistically dated. The flutes of the column shaft are very shallow (Fig. 4.9), suggesting fluting most like Corinthian and Peloponnesian work of the Classical or Hellenistic period, rather than Roman fluting, which is usually much more deeply cut, resembling a half-circle.³⁸

Even including the possibility that the kalathos was painted, it seems quite possible that it was given a decorative metal attachment, resting on the offset of the astragal, and held by a band, or ring, around the inset necking at the base of the capital. The upper section was possibly secured by attachment points either at the top of the kalathos or to a separate abacus. The design of the Bassai capital works well here in a tentative restoration (Fig. 4.10).³⁹

This capital may have been set up in or near the fifth century temple "A" in the area of the peribolos of Apollo. Temple A was replaced in the fourth century B.C. by a naiskos or tetrastylon with four column slabs and a stylobate to carry a screen-wall (Fig. 4.10).⁴⁰ The dimensions of the column slabs and stylobate of this fourth

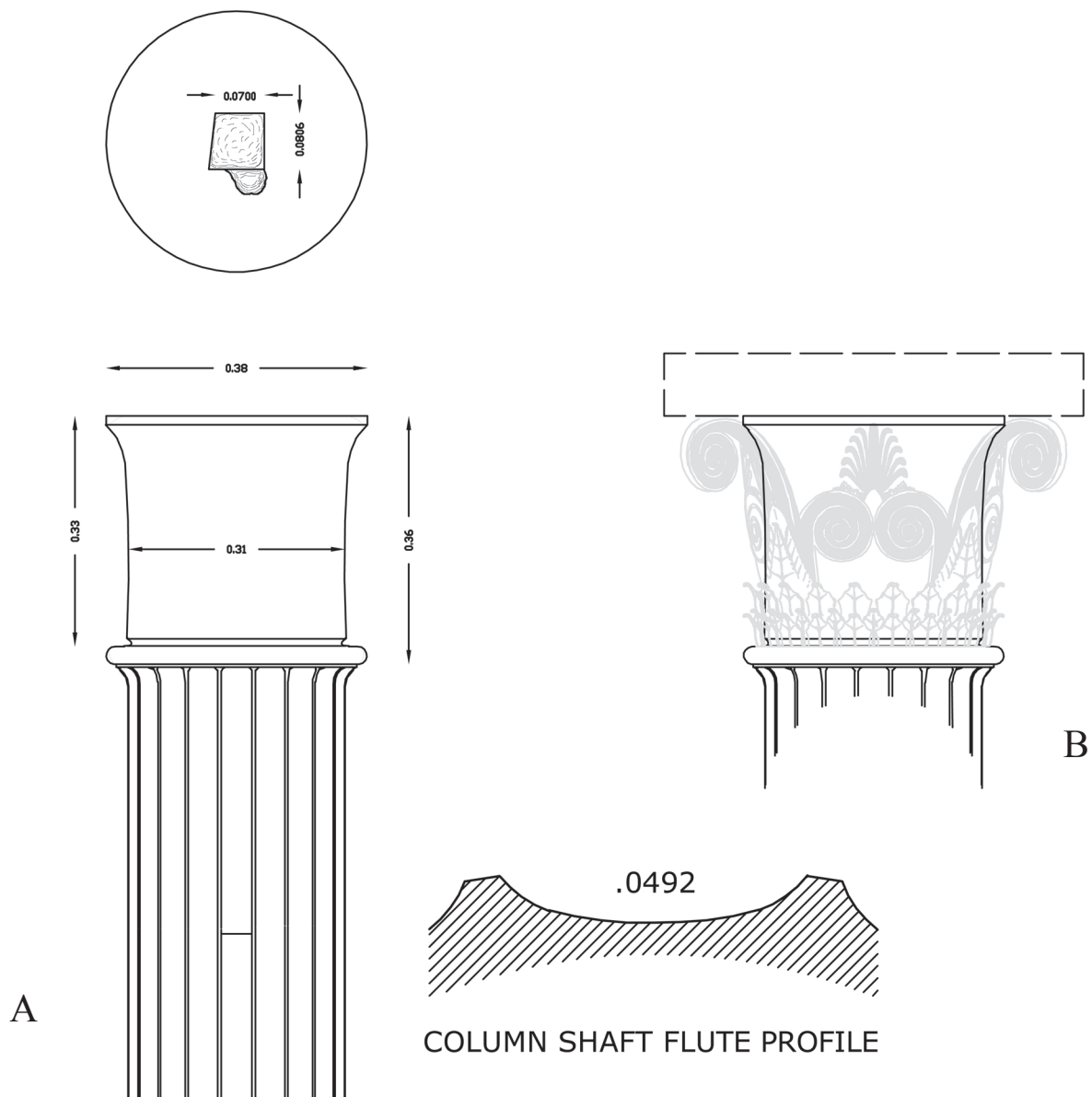


Fig. 4.10. A) Elevation of Kalathos capital. B) Kalathos with bronze attachment based on the Bassae ornament. Section of flute profile. Drawings by Author.

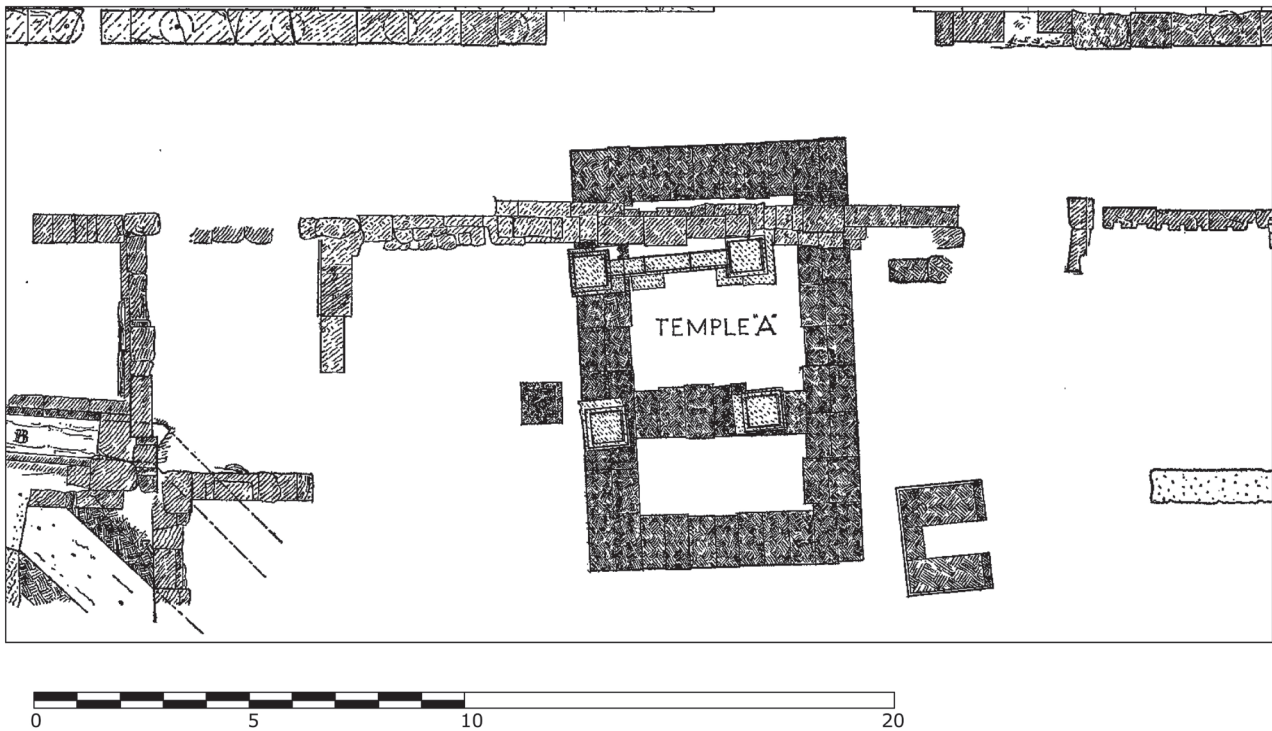


Fig. 4.11. Tetrastylon and altar near the Peribolos of Apollo at Corinth. Plan after Stillwell 1941, pl. 1.

Bassai Corinthian Capital		Corinth Kalathos	
Shaft Height	4.762m	Shaft Height	2.80m
Lower Diameter	<u>0.675m</u>	Lower Diameter	<u>0.40m</u>
Proportion diam./ht.	1:705	Proportion diam./ht.	1:7
Shaft Height	4.762m	Shaft Height	2.80m
Capital diameter	<u>0.520m</u>	Capital diameter	<u>0.31m</u>
Proportion diam./ht.	1:915	Proportion diam./ht.	1:9

Table 4.1.

century tetrastylon are of the right size for the dimensions of our capital and column (Fig. 4.11).⁴¹ The Corinthian column at Bassai provides a conservative basis on which to restore a height for the column shaft of approximately 2.80m⁴² (Table 4.1). The total column height with a restored abacus and base would be approximately 3.38m. The facet and socket only occur on one side of the column. This shows that the screen or wall only extended across one side. If the screen or wall extended across the back, as restored here, it seems likely that the structure was roofed, rather than being open-air.

If our capital belongs to the tetrastylon, the choice of a kalathos capital with metal attachments might be seen as carrying special symbolic, heroic or chthonic significance. This would seem fitting for a tetrastylon, since this kind of construction appears in sanctuary contexts related to either altars, hero cults or chthonic deities.⁴³ One could see a case for using a special type of capital with leaf decoration for such a purpose. Also, from the standpoint of design, a kalathos or Corinthian capital is fitting for a four sided structure to handle the corner problem.⁴⁴

Whether or not Kallimachos did, in fact, make the

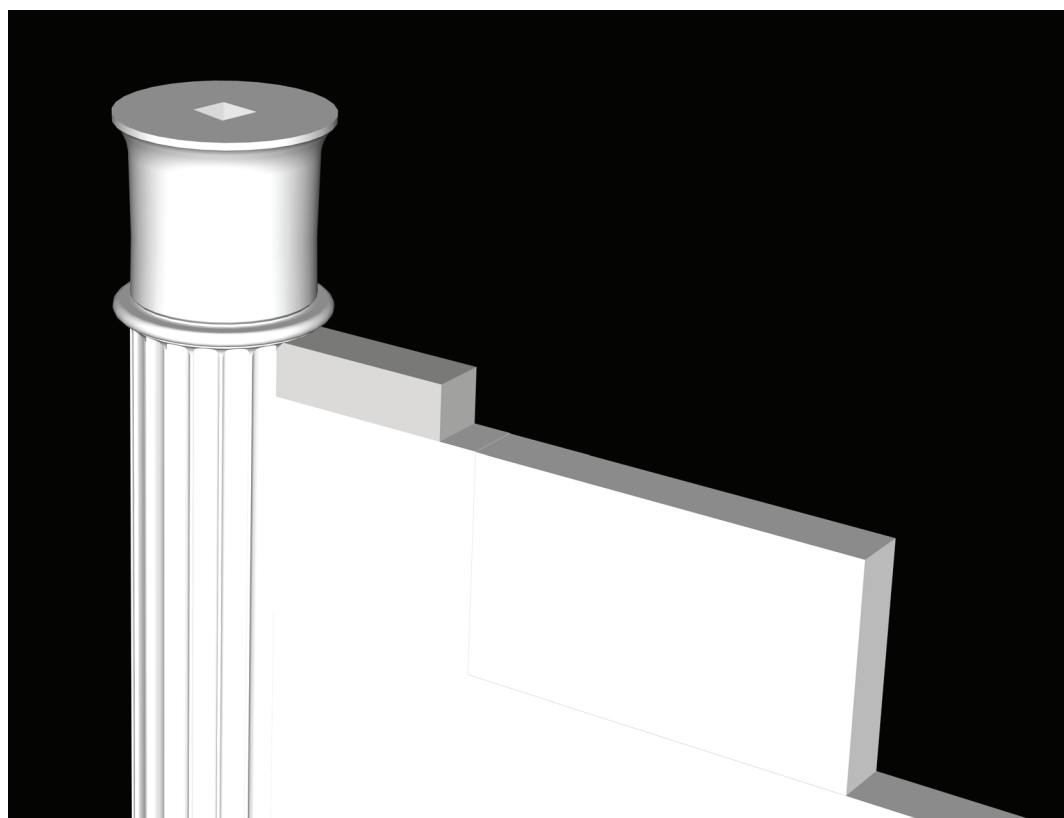
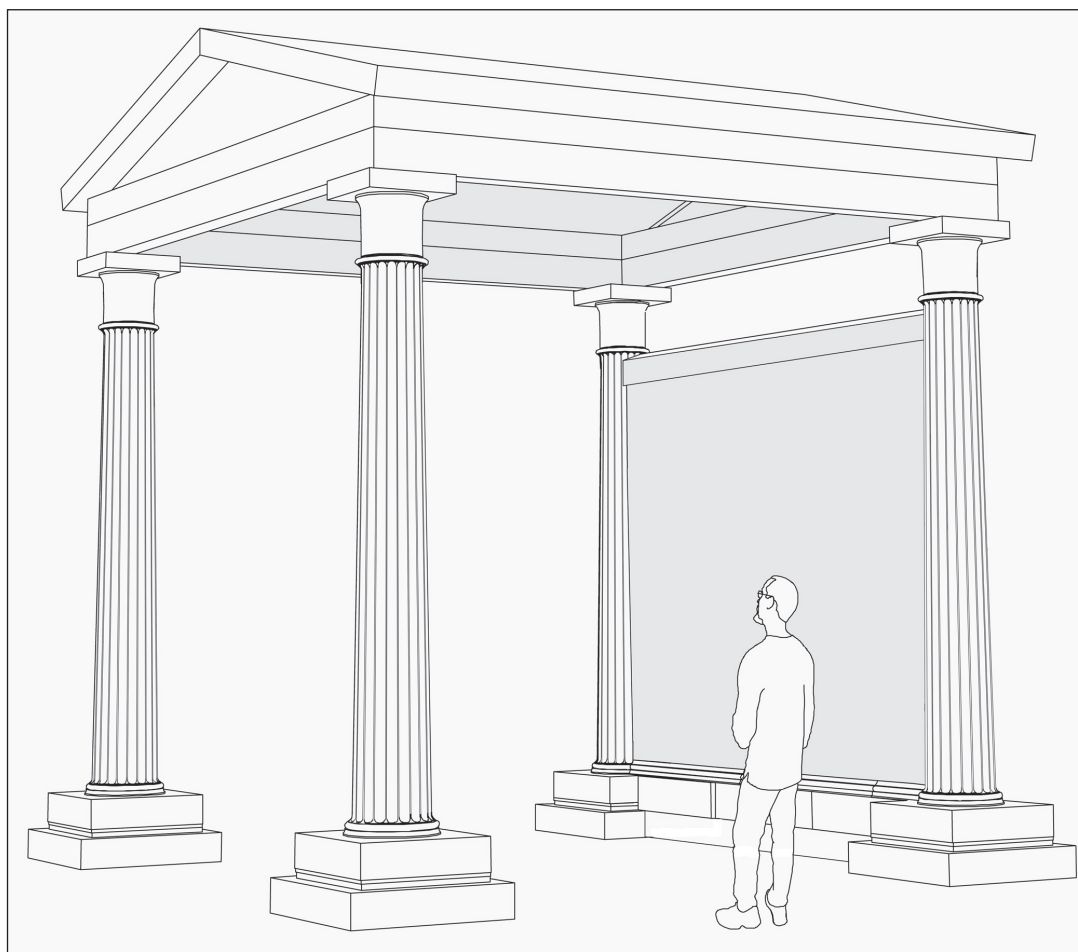


Fig. 4.12. A) Perspective reconstruction of the tetrastylon at Corinth. B) Close up view. Drawings by Author.

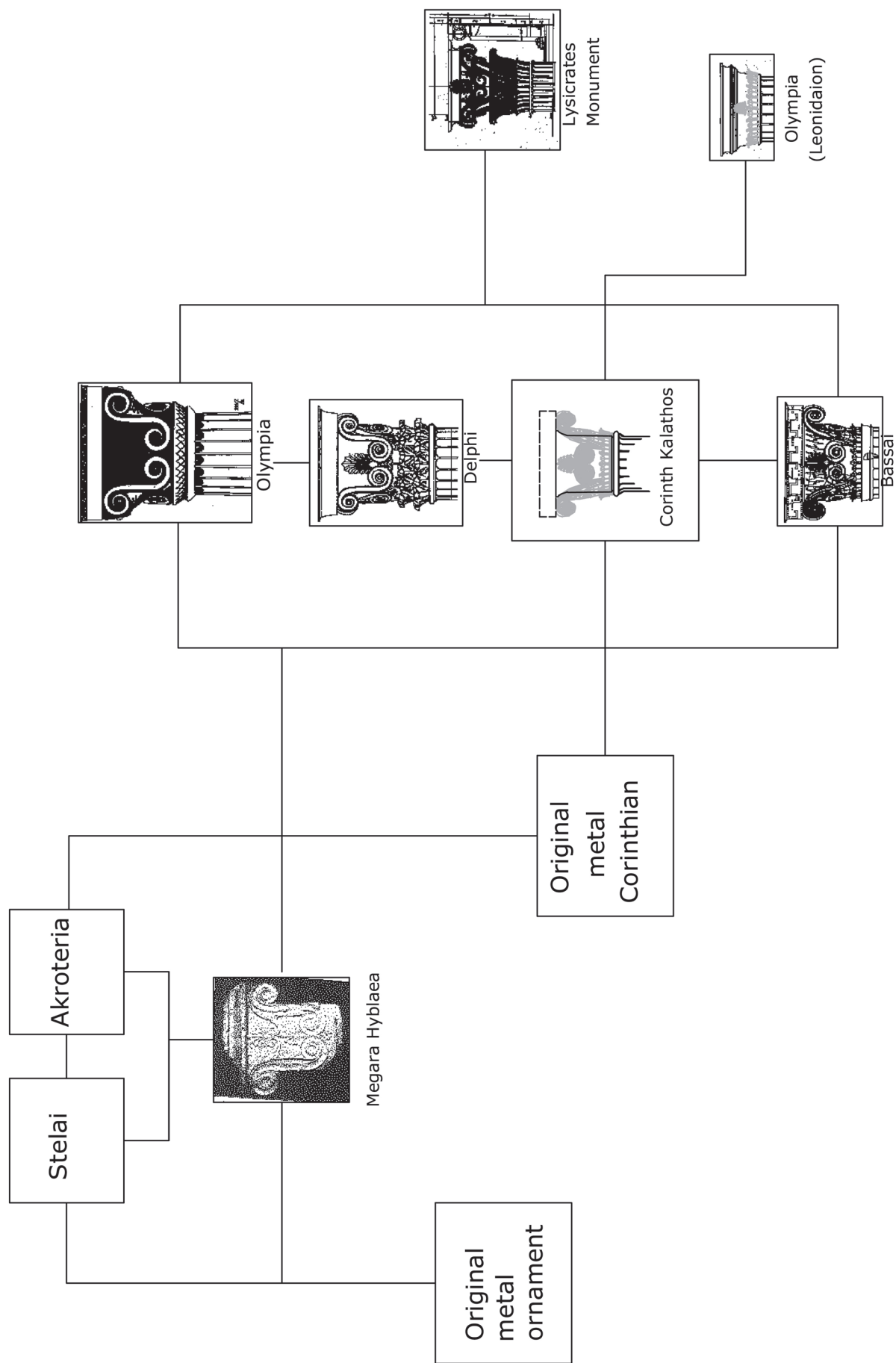


Fig. 4.13. Chronological and stylistic relationships for the development of the Corinthian capital form. By Author.

first Corinthian capital and whether or not it was made at Corinth, Vitruvius' story contains elements of fact and would seem to reflect an actual (and ancient) tradition that saw the inspiration for the Corinthian capital intertwined with funerary customs, Corinth and bronze working. The evidence suggests that some early Corinthian capitals were made with bronze attachments that took the shape of palmettes, acanthus leaves, spirals and volutes.

Kalathos capitals, such as the one from Corinth, are perhaps best explained as early experiments in what was to become Corinthian design, combining decorative elements of a special symbolic importance, that were first executed in metal. The evidence suggests that the Corinthian kalathos may be a reflection of a prototype Corinthian capital that was all but eclipsed after the design was translated to stone versions like the examples found at Bassai and Delphi (Fig. 4.12).

In terms of symbolic meaning, the ornamental design of Corinthian capitals can be traced to funerary custom and the intertwined ideas of growth and regeneration. This iconography would seem ideal for architecture related to chthonic or heroic cult, namely tholoi, formal tetrastyla and the sacred areas of temple interiors. Indeed, it is perhaps for this reason that a new capital imbued with symbolic importance might have been introduced for these special and new late fifth and early fourth century building types.⁴⁵ Over time, the meaning of Corinthian capitals became subsumed into more popular usage. By the Roman period, Corinthian was a style that could be used for any number of buildings irrespective of function, becoming decoration for its own sake. Vitruvius' story, however, does seem to preserve a vestige of the origins of the particular form and the possible meaning of this key example of Greek architectural ornament.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Peter Schultz and Ralf von den Hoff for inviting me to participate in the conference from which this book springs. I also would like to thank Charles K. Williams II for showing me the kalathos capital at Corinth and for helpful advice, John Camp on Agora material, Christopher Pfaff, Mark Wilson-Jones and Jesper Ta Jensen for reading and commenting on versions of the paper. On other architectural matters concerning the Corinthian order, Richard Anderson, Michael Djordjevich and Manolis Korres have been extremely generous with their time and expertise. For discussions concerning ancient literary references and especially on Vitruvius in particular, I thank Antonio Corso. To Tasos Tanoulos, for allowing me to examine the Ionic capital fragments from the Propylaia, I am indebted. All mistakes are my own.

Notes

- 1 On architecture as sculpture, especially in reference to refinements, see Haselberger, 1999, 64, n. 240.
- 2 Vit. *De arch.* 4.1.9. In Book 4, Vitruvius (4.3) refers to

the three main variations of Greek and Roman architecture, Doric Ionic and Corinthian, separately and the word he uses to separate them is *genus*. E columnarum enim formationibus trium generum factae sunt nominationes, dorica, ionica, corinthia... (4.3). The word order (*ordine*), when used to describe classical architecture, is a Renaissance construct that came to be applied in subsequent architectural treatises so that now it is used ubiquitously, but somewhat misleadingly. *Genus* suggests a much more fluid arrangement with regard to architectural typology. The purpose here is to attempt to understand how design was conceived and practiced in antiquity and to avoid an agenda driven, Renaissance inspired, system of classification. On this distinction, see especially Wilson-Jones 2001, 109–10; Rowland 1994; Rykwert 1996, 4. That Corinthian is not considered by Vitruvius to be a separate order, but merely a separate designation for a type of capital, see Pedersen 1989, 32.

- 3 Vit. *De arch.* 4.1.10. *Catatechnos*, “thoroughly skilled”, is inserted for *catexitechnos*, “refined” in some manuscripts. See Corso and Romano 1997, 400, n. 8; Rowland and Howe 1999, 55, 213. For the epithet assigned to Kallimachos see, Pausanias, 1.26.7; Plin. *HN* 34.9.2.
- 4 Not “for the Corinthians,” (Granger 1955; Rowland and Howe 1999). The word that Vitruvius uses is *apud*, literally “at” or “among” or “nearby”. This is an important distinction because “for” could imply patronage. *Apud* in this context is usually taken to mean “nearby” in a topographical sense (I thank Antonio Corso for help on this point). However, it could also mean “among”, which in this case might imply an association with Corinthian craftsmen.
- 5 For the most recent synthesis concerning scholarship on the origins of the Corinthian capital, see Hellmann 2002, 169–71. Dinsmoor Sr. (1957, 157, n. 6) stated the following: “As the earliest Greek Corinthian capitals all suggest a metallic origin, and as Kallimachos is known to have worked both in bronze and in marble, it may be conjectured that he worked out the original design in bronze and then reproduced it in marble.” There is ample early scholarship on the subject. Chipiez (1876, 306–321, figs 149, 150) proposed the likelihood of an original Corinthian capital in metal made by Kallimachos. Choisy (1899, 371, fig. 2) showed a prototype design of a Corinthian capital with bronze attachments for decoration on a cylindrical core. Also, Homolle 1916; Alternatively, Ebeling 1924; Martin (1965, 160–162), “Nous avons déjà marqué des restrictions à l'égard de l'hypothèse du modèle métallique du chapiteau corinthien; mais que certains aient reçu, en appliqués, des ornements de bronze, les feuilles d'acanthé en bronze trouvées à Pergame et à Samothrace le prouvent.” (p. 161). On Kallimachos' association with the making of a gold «lamp» in the Erechtheion, see Paus. 1.26.7.
- 6 Roman examples of kalathos capitals that may have had metal attachments have been found. For the kalathos capitals from the peristasis for the temple of Bel at Palmyra restored with metal attachments, see Wiegand 1932, 129; Amy, Seyrig and Will 1975, fig. 42. Also, Durm 1905, fig. 232.
- 7 Although the capital itself was destroyed under mysterious circumstances pieces of it did survive. See Cooper 1996, 305–14, for a thorough review of the evidence. For Haller's notes and drawings see Roux 1976; also Roux 1953, 124–28.

- 8 Gottlob 1925, pl. 25. Pederson (1983, 120–21) has suggested, based on stylistic criteria, that the capitals from the Tholos in the Marmaria may be earlier than the Corinthian capital from Bassai. See Seiler (1986, 65–7) for an earlier dating of the Tholos in the Marmaria at Delphi that would place it before the Temple at Bassai. From these two examples, we can already infer stylistic variation early in the development of the form.
- 9 The overall impression of the decoration is one of restraint compared to later examples, which could be read as a reflection of early attempts at translation from bronze to stone.
- 10 See Bauer 1977.
- 11 For the Corinthian capitals in the tholos at Epidauros, see Roux 1961, 367–68, pls 47–50.
- 12 See Wilson-Jones (2001, ch. 7 [esp. 140–147]) on Corinthian design in the Roman period.
- 13 While there do seem to be iconographic signs paralleled in funerary architectural display and Vitruvius (4.1.9) makes a direct association, it is necessary to be careful not to carry these iconographic parallels too far. Obviously, however, architectural display can carry multiple meanings. The association for an ancient or modern viewer intended or not, is to a degree inevitable.
- 14 An example of a stone kalathos dated to the 1st c.A.D. used as a funerary urn to hold ashes was found in the Evangelismos Metro Excavations (briefly mentioned in Parlama and Stampolides 2000, 212). For an example of a white ground lekythos scene of a kalathos depicted on top of a grave monument see ARV² 998, 164; Beazley, *Addenda*² 313 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3746); Oakley 222(164), pl. 116A and 117. See Oakley 1997, 67, n. 49, for bibliography of kalathoi on tombs in vase painting. This is not to say that kalathoi were confined to funerary contexts. Liddell and Scott define the word kalathos as a basket, narrow at the base, which could serve a number of purposes.
- 15 For the most recent study of these two treasuries, see Patrida 2000, 224–47; Dinsmoor 1913, 4–82; Dinsmoor, 1923, 164–73; Fomine 1923; Dinsmoor (1957, 140) notes the resemblance of these capitals to the early Ionic echinus.
- 16 On the question of terminology for “palm” capitals, see Hellmann 2002, 178; also King 1997. “Aeolic” in the case of the capitals from the Clazomenian and Massiliot treasuries at Delphi denotes a topographical location and should be distinguished from Aeolic capitals with volutes.
- 17 The Doric temple of Apollo at Metropolis (near modern Karditsa) in Thessaly has several distinct patterns of carved lotus and palmette combinations on the echinus of each capital. This temple has not yet been published fully. For a preliminary report, see Intzesiloglou 2002.
- 18 For an annotated bibliography on the design of the acanthus in architecture see Di Marzio 1999, 89–107. Also, Meuer 1896. These motifs would probably have carried a variety of meanings in architectural use outside of funerary custom: For the acanthus plant in Greek architectural roof decoration, see Billot 1993, 39–74.
- 19 For Near Eastern prototypes of Aeolic capitals, see Shiloh 1979. On the development of Aeolic see Betancourt 1977. Pederson (1989, 32) has pointed out that Ionic capitals with elaborate lotus and palmette necking as well as floral decoration on the bolsters may be seen as a stage in the development of the Corinthian capital.
- 20 For an example of an Archaic Ionic capital with carved central palmette, see Korres 1996, Abb. 34.
- 21 Mark Wilson-Jones (forthcoming), personal communication.
- 22 For the capital from Megara Hyblaea, see Mertens 1993, Taf. 71.6. Although it is most probably a stele capital, it is sometimes referred to as an anta capital. Also of importance is a terracotta capital found at Olympia of the fifth century B.C. (see Mallwitz 1981, 318–52, fig. 101). The terracotta capital from Olympia exhibits stylistic similarities comparable to the Megara Hyblaea example.
- 23 Paus. 1.26.7. See Palagia 1984 for a discussion of the golden “lamp” made by Kallimachos for the Erechtheion.
- 24 Chipiez 1876, 306–321, figs 149, 150; Choisy 1899, 371, fig. 2; Homolle 1916.
- 25 There is a possibility that Kallimachos could have been associated with itinerant Athenian craftsmen who left Athens during the Peloponnesian War for work elsewhere, so he could have been in Corinth towards the end of the fifth century B.C.
- 26 On Corinthian bronze, see Jacobson and Weitzman 1992, 1995; Pemberton 1981.
- 27 Pliny, *HN* 34.7.1; also in the same passage he states that Syracusan bronze was used for the capitals of the Pantheon constructed by M. Agrippa. For Pliny’s other remarks regarding Corinthian bronze, see *HN* 34.6–8. Pliny (*HN* 34.3) argues that Corinthian bronze was only invented after 146 B.C. when Corinth was sacked. In fact, the earliest known reference to Corinthian bronze seems to go back to the third century B.C. in a reference by Kallixeinios of Rhodes; Caliss. *De Alex.*, fr. I Jacoby (=FGrH 3, C, 627). See also Corso and Romano 1997, 400, n. 8. The word used is *Korinthiourgeis*. I thank Antonio Corso for bringing this reference to my attention. Therefore the word is clearly used before the Roman period. That the Colossus of Rhodes was made of Corinthian bronze see also, Michael von Syrien 4.430 in Hebert, 1989, Q 100, 41. What is chiefly of concern here, however, is the name being attached to the type of capital, not whether or not the earliest capital was in fact made of Corinthian bronze. Pliny (*HN* 34.6–7) makes a point of saying that many works said to be of Corinthian bronze were, in fact, not. By this reasoning we should understand that the name Corinthian was applied in Roman times to bronze works irrespective of whether or not the works were really of Corinthian bronze, where it would be seen to add prestige to the work and points to the fact that Corinthian bronze was prized in antiquity. See also, Paus. 2.3.3; Plut. *De Pyth. or.* 2.395 B; Mart. Spect. 14.172, 177; Petron. *Sat.* 50. For the so-called Corinthian bronze door in the Propylaia at Baalbeck see, Wiegand 1973, 104; For the possibility of metal pillar capitals from the temple of Zeus at Gerasa see, Kraeling, 1938, 19, n. 33, pl. 4 b. For Bronze attachments in domestic architecture, see Plut. *Vit. Phoc.*, 18. Diod. Sic. 18.26–28 refers to gold acanthus leaves around the Ionic columns of Alexander’s funeral car.
- 28 Roux 1961, 359–62.
- 29 From the Athenian Agora excavations there is an important example of a large scale, bronze double palmette of a size for architectural adornment. These fragments are preliminarily published in Houser 1987, 255, 261–62, where she gives a date for the palmette design in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. The two palmettes are cast separately, with corresponding holes so that they were attached together by means of rivets, a plate on the back of

- the smaller set providing space between the two. Fragment B 1636 is a mirror-image of B 1386-c. The total height of the palmette is 30cm. Spiral tendrils extended below the palmette, out toward the sides and beneath the tendrils were petals of acanthus leaves. The petals of the palmette rise vertically straight, curling forward slightly at the top. On the lower portion of the palmettes are small holes for securing the two pieces to each other. The backside of the larger palmette is curved but where the holes are located toward the bottom, the back flattens out for mounting onto a backing support.
- 30 On the Acropolis in Athens: The Propylaia Ionic capitals, the Erechtheion Ionic capitals. At Corinth: Triglyph wall in the Sacred Spring.
 - 31 IG³ 476, I.259–265.
 - 32 These models would have most likely been for bronze or gold rosettes and acanthus leaves. In the north portico the ceiling coffers have holes for the insertion of a bolt or rod. Stevens (Paton and Stevens 1927, 89) suggested that the bolts would have held either an ornament of marble or metal and that the ornament probably would have filled the entire space of the coffer rectangle since the ground is left rough. It seems rather unlikely that the metal bolts would have secured a marble ornament since the size of the bolt would be unnecessarily large for delicately carved marble acanthus leaves.
 - 33 Stevens (Paton and Stevens 1927, 84) thought that these nails might be for temporary garlands put up during festivals, but I would suggest that the pins held more permanent bronze wreaths, not unlike earlier and later examples painted or carved in stone on Ionic bolsters. There are also holes in the inside grooves of the volutes, both front and rear, which Stevens thought might have held metal strips (first proposed by Kinnard 1825, 2, 73 n. a, and 4, 17, n. f.). Another Ionic capital, now in front of the Athenian portico at Delphi, has dowel holes in the volute grooves and in the corners where the volutes meet the face of the capital; see Pomtow 1889, pl. 7, 12. This capital is considered to be Roman in date but it clearly copies a fifth century type very close to the Erechtheion capitals in design and carving.
 - 34 Manolis Korres, personal correspondence. The holes have traces of bronze inside. I thank Tasos Tanoulos for allowing me to examine and photograph the fragments of the capital, which are currently undergoing conservation and restoration. There is also an example of a classicizing capital at Delphi with drilled holes on the front of the volutes, now set up opposite the Stoa of the Athenians.
 - 35 I thank Charles K. Williams, II for bringing this capital to my attention and for discussing it with me. I also thank the Director of the Corinth Excavations, Guy Sanders, for permission to publish it. The capital has been kept on site with other poros architectural fragments and blocks found during early excavations in the area.
 - 36 The socket and flat section were probably for the insertion of a wooden frame. The wall itself might have been merely a screen of some kind.
 - 37 That we are dealing with a capital and not a base is understood by the fact that an astragal would never be a termination for the lower part of the shaft.
 - 38 See Broneer 1954, 47, fig. 25 and 103, fig. 63, for a comparison of Hellenistic column fluting and Roman column fluting for the Ionic capitals used in the South Stoa at Corinth.
 - 39 The proportions of the kalathos (diameter to height) are more similar to the capital from the Marmaria at Delphi than the Bassai capital, meaning it is taller than the Bassai capital, so that, in the restoration, two rows of leaves are restored at the base instead of one.
 - 40 See Fowler and Stillwell 1932, plate 10; Stillwell and Askew 1941, 4–9, figs 2–4; Williams 1968, 134.
 - 41 The upper shaft of the column is 0.31m in diameter. The square column bases of the tetrastylon are *ca.* 0.76m². The square bases around the altar are *ca.* 0.54m². The thickness of the stylobate for the screen is 0.37m.
 - 42 The proportion of lower diameter to height for the column is taken at 1:7. Diam./Ht. for the Corinthian column at Bassai is restored as 1:705 by Cooper (1996, 316, Tab. 29–3). The shaft height (2.80) is determined by calculating nine times the known diameter of the kalathos (0.31). The shaft height (2.80) is then divided by seven to get a lower shaft diameter of 0.40.
 - 43 Rupp (1974, Appendix 2, 360–75) compiles the evidence for tetrastylon constructions in Greek architecture. See Riethmüller 1995, for a discussion of the tetrastylon in the sanctuary of Asklepius in Athens and its identification as a heroon. From a conceptual point of view it is instructive to compare tetrastyla to the later baldacchino. For vase painting depictions of tetrastyla and/or naiskoi in association with personifications of heroes or gods and goddesses, see de Cesare 1997. Vase painters seem to have preferred to depict the columns of these structures supporting a generic aeolic-like capital that is not known to have existed.
 - 44 Ionic corner capitals could have been used, but a better solution is found in Corinthian design once it became available. Though kalathos capitals exist earlier than the Roman period, one might expect them to be more prevalent if they really were precursors to the design of Corinthian capitals. (The capital found in Olympia and restored as a corner capital in the Leonidaion is comparable to the example from Corinth and it is possible that it too had attached metal decoration. See Olympia II 88, Taf. 64, 2. 3. 7; Herrman 1996, 129–32, Abb. 8, 9. Proportionally it is not as tall and has additional moulding at the top of the kalathos, but it should be included within the category of kalathos capitals.) One obvious reason for the lack of extant evidence is that architectural metal attachments have not survived to any significant degree. (The tradition of bronze ornamentation attached to a cylindrical core does exist in the Roman period [see *supra* n. 24]. The kalathos capitals for the temple to Bel at Palmyra in Syria are comprised of a stone core with bronze attachments, see Amy, Seyrig, Will. 1975, fig. 42. They restore bronze leaves, volutes and abacus attachments. This type of capital would appear to be a direct continuation of the type created at Corinth. It is also fitting that the temple dates to the Augustan period, as Augustan architecture readily adopted Classical precedents, recast for an Imperial Roman purpose. On Augustan appropriation of Corinthian design, see Wilson-Jones 2001, 139–140.
 - 45 Pedersen (1989, 30) has suggested restoring Corinthian capitals in the Parthenon's west chamber, where there were four ionic bases comprising an inner, enclosed chamber within the chamber. Ultimately, Pedersen's argument rests on the premise that as a four sided construction it makes more sense to have Corinthian capitals. This construction would, in fact, be a tetrastylon-like construction inside the west chamber of the Parthenon and provides an interesting

parallel. In view of this, it becomes all the more interesting that the Varvakian Athena's right hand is supported by a kalathos capital. Did this kalathos also have a metal attachment? Nearby was Kallimachos' golden "lamp", which Pausanias (1.26–27.1) refers to as having a bronze palm tree, serving as a chimney above it. Although we do

not know what this palm tree looked like, it was probably columnar and has been compared to acanthus columns and votive palm columns. On this association, see Palagia 1984, 519–21. As leaf ornament, it should be considered within the sphere of botanical decoration that influenced Corinthian capital design.

Architectural Sculpture: Messages? Programs? Towards Rehabilitating the Notion of ‘Decoration’

Tonio Hölscher

Intention and attention

The term “architectural sculpture”, which defines the general topic of this volume, is a neutral definition of a concrete phenomenon in the visual arts, lacking any further cultural interpretation. If one looks, however, for some more specific terms indicating the cultural significance of this phenomenon, we find a whole range of notions that lead towards various sectors and levels of cultural theory and practice. In traditional aesthetic views, works of architectural sculpture are subsumed under the general category of *decoration*; according to iconological approaches, they are conceived as iconographic *programs*; from a political point of view they may even be seen as expressions of *ideological systems* or vehicles of political *propaganda*. Finally, in the conceptual vocabulary of semiotics and cultural communication they may be understood as *messages*, serving to glorify, commemorate or establish a collective *identity* among viewers of architectural monuments.

Mostly, such terms are adopted more or less superficially, following fashionable modes, with little concern for the theoretical implications of vocabulary. Sometimes, however, such notions are adopted with strong emphasis, as for example in the rigorous semiotic interpretation of the Athena Parthenos by Burkhard Fehr, in the search for *Bildprogramme* by Heiner Knell, Manfred Oppermann and David Castriota¹ – and on the other hand in the recent affirmation of the notions of *kosmos* and ornament by Clemente Marconi.² This last approach comes near to my own efforts to revive the term *decoration* as a basic category of art historical analysis.³

No doubt, the most fruitful approach to ancient architectural sculpture was the attempt to analyse its iconography in terms of public manifestation and communication. Indeed, only from this perspective can the political and social content of public monuments in their concrete historical situation be uncovered.

Nevertheless, this point of view implies some basic problems concerning the communicative functions that are thereby implied. All approaches that take such images seriously as “messages” or “programs” or “propaganda” presuppose an *intensive* situation of visual communication: authors and artists aiming *intensely* to influence and persuade their specific audience with their visual concepts, and viewers deciphering equally *intensely* such concepts, either accepting or refusing the suggestions and admonitions of such ideological, propagandistic messages. Yet, if we consider the real situation of viewers confronted with such images, some very obvious irritating facts emerge that seem to oppose this idea of intensive messages directed at intensive viewers.

First, there is the position of the viewers facing architectural sculpture.⁴ The well-known locations of decoration in temple architecture – small friezes above the columns, metopes below the roof, and pediments even higher up in the architectural system – all demand that viewers engage these figural compositions from an extremely steep angle. In the temple of Zeus at Olympia, in the Parthenon (Fig. 5.1–2) and in the Hephaisteion at Athens, to name only three of the most elaborately decorated temple buildings of Classical Greece, the metopes and the friezes were even placed within and behind the colonnade where they were obscured, indeed almost concealed, from sight by the shadow of the roof. Of course, some understanding was possible. In the case of the Parthenon frieze encircling the temple’s cella in the shadow of the entablature (Fig. 5.3), for example, viewers would have recognized that a religious procession was being represented; in case they did not identify its precise meaning they could have concluded from the general context that the scene shown was the Panathenaic procession. But the conditions of observation certainly did not allow a viewer to identify, say, ten groups of horsemen differentiated

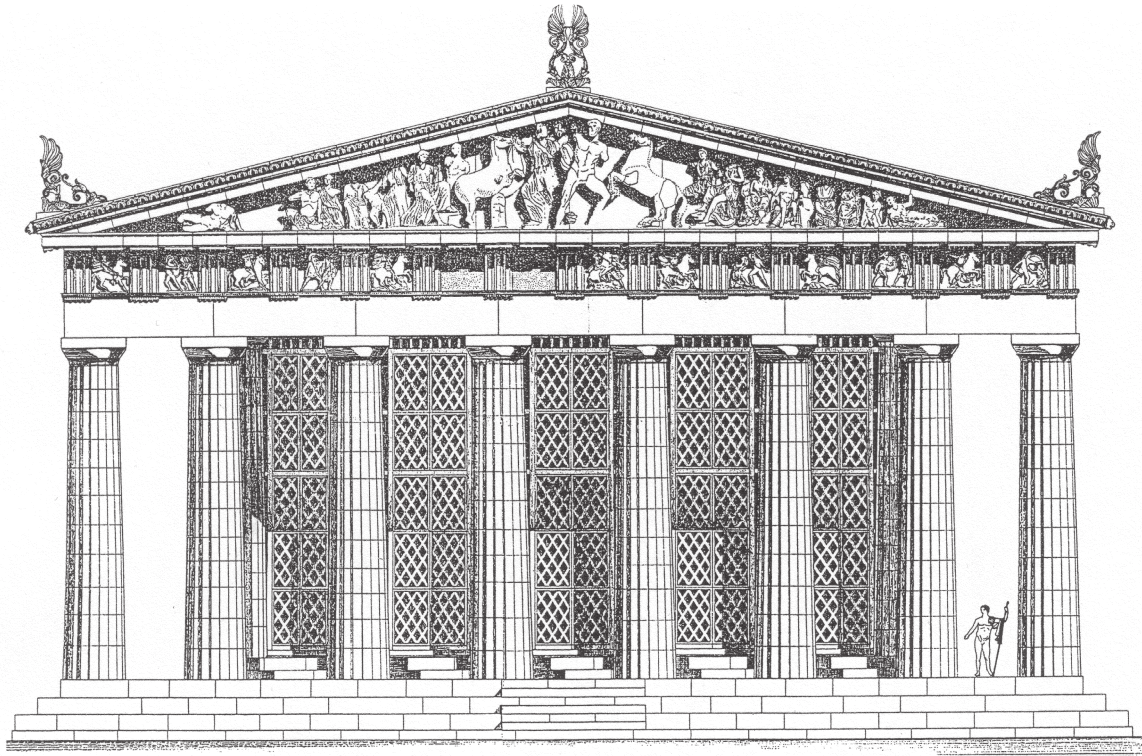


Fig. 5.1 Parthenon, west front. Athens, Acropolis (reconstruction). Drawing after L. Schneider – C. Höcker, *Die Akropolis von Athen* (1990) 119, fig. 130.



Fig. 5.2 Parthenon, west front. Athens, Acropolis (model). Model: Skulpturenhalle Basel.

only by minor variations of clothing or attributes and thus to conclude that they were representatives of the ten Athenian *phylai*. Nor would they have been able to so easily identify the two *hipparchoi*, distinguished only by their beards among the host of youthful riders. Even so, these *were* crucial elements for the meaning of this ritual and its participants. Even steeper was the angle from which

the Nike temple parapet was to be seen by visitors who approached the acropolis by the Great Ramp to the north of the temple's bastion.⁵

Second, architectural sculpture never corresponds with the functional spaces of buildings. Functional spaces in this sense are understood as the pathways of dynamic movement (formal processions as well as informal

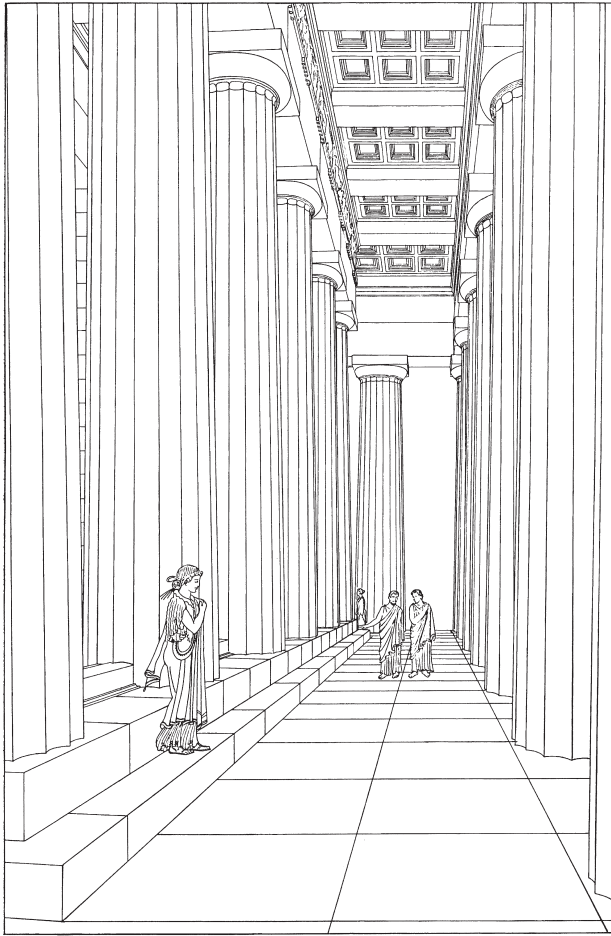


Fig. 5.3 Parthenon. Peristasis. Athens, Acropolis (reconstruction).
Drawing: Anastasios Orlandos.

approaches) on the one hand and, on the other hand, zones of static presence of ritual manifestations. At Olympia, for example, paths of ritual movement can be reconstructed from the description of Pausanias when combined with the results of excavation. These paths wind in tortuous bends from one cult place to the other – while the spaces of static sacrifices, victory celebrations and other ceremonies must have been situated chiefly around the great altars and in front of the temple facades.⁶ Yet, none of these spaces where potential viewers might have moved or stood, were suited for thorough observation of the primary temple's architectural decoration. As for the Parthenon in Athens, the path of the Panathenaic procession as well as that of normal visitors led along the temple's northern side, while the altar itself was situated even further to the north-east, in front of the Erechtheion. Few visitors will have surrounded the Parthenon's south side. (Christian iconoclasts thought this side was so unimportant that they left the centauremachy metopes undestroyed.⁷) At Delphi, the sacred way passed the treasuries of Siphnos and Athens along one side, giving access to a platform in front of these buildings, thus allowing the observation of their rich decoration on three sides. On the fourth side however, the buildings were so near the *peribolos* or

the terrace wall respectively that any kind of sustained viewing almost certainly should be precluded. Even if we posit the existence of such a hypothetical viewer, he would not have seen very much of these buildings' sculptural decoration. The Siphnians' south frieze, which showed the rape of women at an altar, and the Athenians' north metopes, which showed the Heracles cycle, must have been almost hidden from the sight.⁸ The same holds true for the Archaic metopes of the Sikyon treasury, wherever it was placed.⁹

Third and finally, the arrangement of architectural sculpture on its architectural setting made its *comprehensive* perception extremely uncomfortable. In the case of the Parthenon, for example, an interested viewer would have been forced to complete several turns: for the metopes, he had to walk around the whole building in order to grasp the conceptual coherence of the mythological cycles; for the frieze, he had to start twice at the south-west angle, within the colonnade, proceeding once along the west and north side and once along the south side up to the central scene on the east side, all in order to follow the complementary development of the double procession; finally, for the pediments, he had to walk to and fro between the front and back sides, confronting the two basic mythological manifestations of the city-goddess Athena. This kind of movement is what each of us suggests when we teach our courses, that is when we try to avoid confusion and to make the concept transparent – but rarely do we realize that this is very unlikely to correspond to the normal behaviour of ancient participants in religious cult, or to the average walking patterns of everyday visitors to the acropolis. Certainly, the front façade, where normal viewers must have gathered, offers a coherent view of the birth of Athena, the gigantomachy where she played a decisive role, and the main ritual in her honour, the presentation of her *peplos*. But this is only *one* aspect of this complex monument – the conceptual organisation of which was not really orientated towards the viewer's normal movements and perceptions.

Recent experiments seem to have shown that even under these difficult conditions such as these many details of high-up positioned architectural sculpture could be distinguished; the original colours would also have increased visibility.¹⁰ Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that in many cases it would have required great effort to "read" such iconic "messages". It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the traditional placing of architectural decoration in metopes, friezes and pediments was not very helpful for intensive viewing.

There is another important point to consider here. Namely, that the themes of architectural sculpture often do not testify to a strong intention of transmitting very specific messages. An overview of the repertoire of Greek temple decoration shows a clear and certain redundancy of stock themes. In late Archaic times, the fight between gods and giants was adopted by very different political powers and protagonists; these included, for example, the *polis* of Megara for its treasury at Olympia, the Peisistratids in

Athens for the new Acropolis temple, and the Alcmeonids for the new temple at Delphi.¹¹ Obviously, political differences were not fought out by contrasting programs and messages but, rather – and far more importantly – by showing oneself to be in agreement with common concepts and values. In the Parthenon three of the four myths on the metopes appear again as iconographic tropes on the cult-statue of Athena Parthenos, and in most of the later temples of Classical and Hellenistic times we find a selection from this repertoire – gigantomachy, centauromachy, amazonomachy and Ilioupersis – repeated again and again, with variations in composition and style but without major conceptual differences.¹² In view of the enormous multiplicity and the rapid changes of imagery in other sectors of Greek art, the communicative appeal, challenge and impact on the viewer in these cases, at least, seems rather limited.

To support this argument, think of Pausanias, in his overwhelmingly rich description of remarkable works of figurative art, who is notoriously very reticent about architectural sculpture.¹³ Obviously, this genre was rarely suited to excite his intensive attention. As we shall see, the limited communicative power of architectural sculpture is only one side of the coin – but a side that must be taken seriously if we want to move beyond easy and fashionable assumptions.

Towards a system of artistic genres

Such preliminary, and rather trivial, observations may become more comprehensible if we try to see architectural sculpture within the whole *system* of artistic genres. Of course, to establish such a kind of system would be an enormous task – here I can only point out a few preliminary characteristics.¹⁴

Crucial for a theory of artistic genres would be to establish specific relationships *between* the following four fields:

- functions or tasks of works of art, e.g. cult statues, sepulchral images, architectural decoration, symposium equipment, coined money for trade, seals for testifying identity, etc.
- iconographic themes, e.g. mythological events, historical battle-scenes, everyday genre, etc.
- modes of representation, e.g. narrative, descriptive, symbolic, synthetic or selective, etc.
- types of artistic techniques, e.g. round sculpture, relief sculpture, wall painting, vase painting, bronze chasing, terracotta modelling, gem engraving, etc.

Some examples may serve to demonstrate the specific status of architectural sculpture within this specific framework. Sculpture in the round has its primary theme in cult statues for the gods. These images are sculpted in their full corporeity: obviously as objects of cult practice they are to evoke a kind of “real” imaginary “presence”. No myth, no action, few attributes: just the “person”. It is only in late antiquity, that in the context of cult a god

appears whose essence consists not only in what he “is” but also in what he “does”: Mithras, slaying the bull and saving by this deed the world, as it is represented in hundreds of cult reliefs is the most obvious example.¹⁵ As a rule, however, all cult images in Greek and Roman temples, in contrast to Christian churches, were fully three-dimensional sculpture by which the god or goddess was made “present” for participants of cult.

Wall painting – in both fresco and panel – was a major significant element in the frame of architecture. Indeed, some buildings give the impression that the display of large paintings was (one of) their main purpose(s): e.g. the Lesche of Knidos at Delphi with Polygnotos’ murals covering the whole walls; the Stoa Poikile in Athens which was even named after its famous cycle of panel paintings; and, last but not least, the Pinakothek on the Athenian Acropolis where the function as a banquet hall was merged with that of a gallery of paintings.¹⁶ In such cases, we hear of paintings with very specific, unusual and complex themes, like the Ilioupersis and the Nekyia in the Knidians’ Lesche at Delphi, the myth-historical cycle comprising the battle of Marathon and of Oinoe in the Stoa Poikile, or the cycle in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios at Athens with an equestrian battle of the Athenians near Mantinea, the Twelve Gods, and Theseus with Demos and Demokratia.¹⁷ Such paintings were full of “serious” political or religious significance, transmitted in large compositions of unusual iconographic motives, often with great numbers of figures that did not belong in the normal iconographic repertoire; and they were to be viewed in places which facilitated long, comfortable stays. This is especially true of stoas where these paintings were displayed at eye’s level and could be gazed upon with more attention and leisure.

Architectural sculpture, above all, lacks the “representational autonomy” that we see in large scale wall-painting. Rather, it is embedded in major architectonic contexts to which it is subordinated. In Greek temples, sculptural and painted figure decoration is mainly inserted in those “empty” zones that lack tectonic function: metopes between the triglyphs, friezes above the architrave, pediments beneath the roof.¹⁸ High above eye-level, most architectural sculpture could not be observed at close range – which, of course, was not caused by an explicit intention of withdrawing them from the observer’s view, but rather was normal due to their situation. Corresponding to its subordinate status and its limited visibility, the themes of architectural sculpture are much less complex than those of mural paintings. And, as we have seen already, these themes are often taken from the stock repertoire of mythology. Indeed, even the less familiar themes of the Parthenon are a most “normal” choice in that they provide a sculpted frame for this state cult: the central collective ritual in honour of the goddess, and her two basic myths, her miraculous birth and her victorious contest for her country.¹⁹

Thus, the genre of architectural sculpture presupposes and requires a much less intensive communicative intercourse than other genres.²⁰ The semiotic concept

of commissioners and artists with strong and specific conceptual programs – who intend to impose their interests by emphatic messages on a broad audience of viewers that expose themselves intensively, either enthusiastically or critically, to such programmatic interventions – seems to have its roots in modern concepts of political movements and parties, founded on specific political programs that are developed and deployed by means of emphatic political indoctrination. The corresponding term of this concept is “propaganda”, a word that springs from a post-antique situation, namely the aggressive missionary project of Christianity, from which it was transferred to the strategies of 20th century politics. Historically, this is an anachronistic notion which has no basis in the political and social structures of Greek antiquity.²¹ Certainly, it overburdens, by far, the communicative function and significance of architecture and its decoration in ancient Greece.

The paradox of high meaning and low communication: the treasury of Sikyon at Delphi

Still, there can be no doubt that most architectural sculptures in Greece do not lack cultural, social and political meaning. Every serious and penetrating interpretation of architectural decoration has led, and will lead, to further rich insights regarding meaningful motifs and compositions that gave these buildings an explicit significance. In order to offer a concrete attempt at interpreting one specific set of images, I will try to sketch briefly what I think are some of the basic concepts behind the metopes of the so-called treasury of Sikyon at Delphi.²²

The surviving metopes from this building – which still waits for a definite reconstruction and historical attribution – preserve various myths belonging to various mythological cycles: the ship Argo and the episode of Phrixos, both from the myth of the Argonauts, the Calydonian boarhunt, the Dioscuri with the Apharetids, Europa seated on the bull, and Bellerophon. Obviously, there is no unity of mythological narrative here.²³ Nor is there a local reference to the city of Sikyon or a genealogical connection with Sikyonian rulers of the period. The only common denominator that has been observed – if the incomplete preservation of the metopes allows for such a conclusion – is a negative one: the absence of Homeric themes. This has been explained by the antagonism of Sikyon towards Argos which induced the Sikyonian tyrant Kleisthenes to forbid the recital of Homeric poems.²⁴ But this explanation is rather weak, for the impact of Homer on early Greek art is generally not very strong, and in any event this negative argument would not explain the specific positive significance of those myths that have, in fact, been selected for the treasury’s decoration. In the absence of specific local or genealogical references, a more general point of view imposes itself.

The Calydonian hunt (Fig. 5.4) represents an example of great collective enterprises with heroic participants

from various cities.²⁵ This was a relevant ideal for Archaic societies and played out in contemporary history; the Sacred War of the united Delphic amphictyony against Phocis in the early 6th century B.C. is only the most well known example. Given the affinity of hunting and warfare in Archaic times, the common hunt for the boar of Calydon became a mythological model of joint war campaigns. Unfortunately, the crew of heroic hunters who must have attacked the beast from the neighbouring metopes on both sides is lost. As in contemporary vase-painting, they should be imagined as compact groups with uniform attacking attitudes.²⁶ Analogous compositions appear in depictions of fights between groups of heavily armed warriors, thus testifying not only to the affinity of hunting and warfare but also to the general ethos of coordinated actions, of cohesion and of solidarity, all of which were important for Archaic societies.²⁷

On the other hand, the ship Argo (Fig. 5.5) enhances the significance of far-reaching ship expeditions, of trade, of conquest of land or piracy, yet another great theme of the Archaic age. Here, too, the collective spirit of mythical participants coming from all parts of the Greek world had its counterpart in contemporary overseas expeditions. Of the few preserved figures on this metope, the Dioscuri on horseback, significantly positioned outside the ship, represent the aristocratic cavalry ideals while Orpheus with his Kithara responds to the exigencies of ritual and cultic festivity that were maintained during all ambitious enterprises.

The cattle raid of the Dioscuri Kastor and Polydeukes and the Apharetids Idas and Lynkeus (Fig. 5.6) again testifies to values that were esteemed in early Greece. The famous conflict between the two pairs of brothers does not play any role in this relief; on the contrary, they appear as a unified group of ideal youths, equipped with lances like noble warriors who drive their prizes along in the most civilized way. Violent robbing of cattle was still very common in these times, often causing enmity between neighbouring *poleis* and ending in open military campaigns. Therefore, stealing cattle was appreciated as a virtue of manliness that was anticipated by famous heroes of myth: by Achilles as the great model of singular courage – and the pairs of brothers, represented on the Sikyonian treasury, as legendary examples of coordinated solidarity.²⁸

Less obvious is the significance of Europa carried off by Zeus as a bull (Fig. 5.7). Probably, however, this myth refers to the violent abduction of brides by their bridegrooms, a basic motif in the Archaic concept of marriage. Another myth of analogous significance often represented on Archaic vases and other objects, Peleus conquering Thetis, lays more stress on taming the wildness of the young woman for her future obligations as the mistress of the house and mother of children.²⁹ Europa, on the other hand, is a beautiful woman who consents to be carried off by an animal embodying the most powerful kind of untamed virility and encapsulating the highest and mightiest of all bridegrooms.

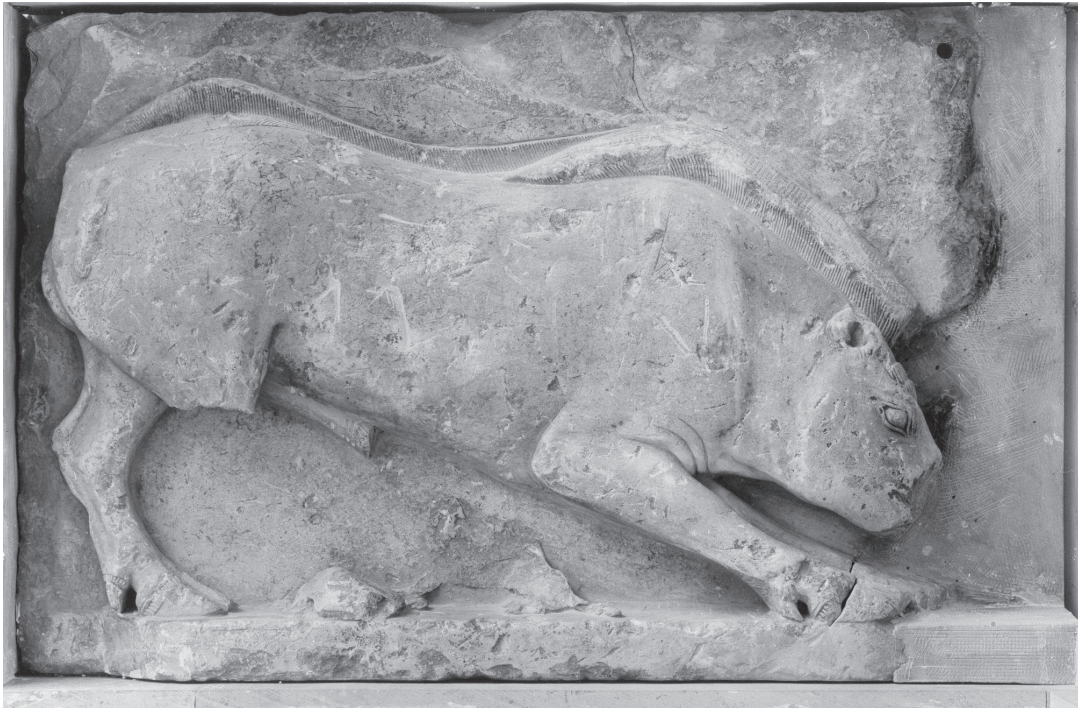


Fig. 5.4 Calydonian Boar. Metope of the Sikyonian treasury. Delphi, Sanctuary of Apollo. Photo: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg: Photosammlung.



Fig. 5.5 The Dioscuri and Orpheus. Metope of the Sikyonian treasury. Delphi, Sanctuary of Apollo. Photo: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg: Photosammlung.

In addition to these scenes, tiny fragments of two further metopes attest to representations of Bellerophon and Phrixos. While the myth of Phrixos (Fig. 5.8), belonging to the Argonaut cycle, is otherwise unknown in Archaic iconography, Bellerophon is among the foremost

heroes in early Greece.³⁰ His prominent role in this period is certainly not to be explained by his Corinthian origin since he is represented in various regions of Greece. Rather, Bellerophon is chosen as a mythical prototype of those adventurous aristocrats of early Archaic times



Fig. 5.6 The Dioskuri and Idas. Metope of the Sikyonian treasury. Delphi, Sanctuary of Apollo. Photo: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg: Photosammlung.

who advanced to the most distant regions of the world where they had to face every sort of unforeseen danger. In such circumstances, they had to rely on extraordinary qualities like inventiveness and cleverness – and, most importantly, they depended on the exceptional favour of gods. Bellerophon had received, as a gift from Poseidon, the miraculous winged horse Pegasus for his fight against the terrible monster Chimaira. But before he could mount his steed he had to tame it by his own force and skill with the aid of Athena who gave him the technology – the bridal – to do so. This story made Bellerophon a formidable example for the famous expeditions to “the end of the world” which were so highly esteemed in Archaic times. The ride of Phrixos on the ram with the golden fleece may have had a similar significance.

All of these myths refer to basic ideals of political communities established in the 6th century B.C. After the founding phase of Greek *poleis* during the ninth and seventh centuries, many Greek cities developed into communities of middle-class aristocrats which – notwithstanding all sorts of diverging interests and internal conflicts – were led by a certain spirit of commonness. In Athens, this

spirit was proclaimed again and again by Solon, and in spite of its author’s desperation, this idea resulted soon afterwards in the common effort of the Athenian citizen-body to erect marvellous temples, to establish a new agora, and to contribute rich offerings to the common sanctuary of Athena on the acropolis.³¹ Similar developments can be observed in many other cities in the same period. At the same time, cooperation between leading aristocrats of different cities developed into far-reaching inter-*polis* connections. It is this concept of *communitas* that is exemplified on various levels in myth: communities of great coalitions like the Calydonian hunters operating in mainland Greece and the Argonauts with their far-reaching overseas expedition; smaller groups of noble cooperating *hetairoi* like the Dioskuri and the Apharetids; last but not least the family, constituted by the abduction of brides, prefigured in the myth of Europa.

How far these themes formed a coherent political “program”³² is a matter of definition: What is a “program”? What is “coherent”? And how would our notion of “political,” be understood by those living in the Archaic period? Of course, the question is affected by the fact



Fig. 5.7 *Europa on the bull. Metope of the Sikyonian treasury. Delphi, Sanctuary of Apollo. Photo: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg: Photosammlung.*

that the metopes are only partially preserved and thus can only be tentatively reconstructed. But what we do have adds up to an ensemble of basic notions of Archaic *polis* ethos and ideology in which a strong conceptual coherence cannot be denied. True, there is no specific “Sikyonian” focus in these myths, nor does the presumed avoidance of Trojan themes involve a strong concept of local identity. But in a broader sense, these themes reflect an aristocratic *kosmos* of social roles and behavioural patterns with which the political community of Sikyon – if the treasury was indeed built by this city – could identify. It makes good sense, then, that a set of visual tropes that emphasize the social foundations of communities appears on a building of an important city, in the context of a panhellenic sanctuary; here, above all, the individual representatives and collective processions of Greek cities came together, constituting the audience of such “visual spectacles”.³³

Nothing, therefore, in this constellation of myths is without meaning. Yet, these metopes must have been placed, as were those of other Delphic treasuries, not only at the front but also at the back sides of the building – whatever it looked like – where they cannot have been easily visible and where the chance of impressing a wide audience would have been limited. There seems to be no escape from an irritating paradox: a high degree of cultural significance and, at the same time, a rather low degree of direct, communicative impact. Both of these conflicting phenomena seem certain. How may this be explained?



Fig. 5.8 *Fragment of a metope of the Sikyonian treasury. Delphi, Sanctuary of Apollo. Photo: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg: Photosammlung.*

Towards a theory of semantic decoration

As we have seen, the problems of a contextual interpretation of architectural sculpture arise mainly from the assumption of an emphatic communication between the authors and the viewers of such visual messages; that is, by an

excessive attention to subjects, techniques and situations of communication. If we want to avoid the anachronisms and paradoxes inherent in this concept, we must put the architecture and its sculptural equipment itself – that is the *cultural object* as such – to the fore.

In this sense, a new object-orientated approach may be developed from the notion of “decoration.”³⁴ Not, of course, in the sense of the poor cliché in which this term is normally adopted in our scientific language; that is, in the sense of pure formalism, implying an obvious lack in “deeper” content. The power of this notion consists in the double sense of the Latin term of “*decor*” which implies on the one hand the concept of formal “adornment” and on the other hand the ideal of conceptual “appropriateness.”³⁵ The first of these aspects revolves around aesthetics, the second one includes semantics. The following sketch might present a preliminary step towards what might be developed into a theory of “decoration”.

All products, and particularly all artefacts of cultural function – objects, buildings, spaces – have to be given a specific form which not only corresponds to the exigencies of their practical use but also makes their specific character visibly recognizable. Those objects that are fundamental for cultural life – temples and sanctuaries, public buildings and places, houses and tombs, ritual tools and symbols of social rank – must distinguish themselves from the surrounding world of normality by qualities and signs that enhance their cultural importance and significance. Such distinction may be conveyed, on the one hand, by its contingent context: the place of its preservation and the practice of its use; for example a precious shrine for religious relics and the handling of such relics in meaningful rituals.

On the other hand, an object may be distinctive by its own qualities. In principle, there are two levels on which such distinction can be achieved:

- by aesthetic elements: precious materials, technical perfection, rich decoration; for example temples of marble loaded with architectural ornament;
- by semantic elements: inscriptions that proclaim the significance of an object, for example donors’ inscriptions on votive-offerings or honorary inscriptions on public buildings; or, most importantly here, decoration with images. Such iconographic motifs may, on the one hand, refer more or less closely to the significance of the object; for example relief scenes of sacrifice on public altars. But they may also, more generally, enhance and emphasize the object’s importance or significance.

Thus, the basic sense of the notion of “*decor*” is: to convey cultural emphasis and “value” by aesthetic and semantic exaltation. This double aspect is best expressed in the word “significance” which comprises “importance” as well as “meaning”. Architectural sculpture, above all else, distinguishes public buildings, enhancing their cultural significance by aesthetic beauty and semantic meaning.

Regarding the figural motifs of architectural sculpture, the concept of “*decor*” helps us understand the choice of themes. The semantic aspect of this notion means – far from the deteriorated modern connotation of meaningless formalism – that the themes of decoration must be “appropriate” to the character of the building. This seems like a relatively open parameter, which nevertheless does not mean total freedom. On the one hand, this idea does not limit decoration to specific tasks of communication: neither to specific indications on the building’s practical functions nor to specific messages of ideology and identity. This is why an emphatic orientation towards a specific audience and its possibilities of perception is not required.³⁶ On the other hand, this parameter does not allow every kind of simply “beautiful” subject to be represented. The themes of architectural sculpture outlined above “make sense”. As an “appropriate” decoration they need not to be very specific. This is shown by the various gigantomachy pediments of late Archaic times or by the amazonomachy, centauiromachy and Iliupersis cycle of the Classical and later periods. But the general religious and ethical convictions and attitudes that are implied by these themes, are deeply rooted in Greek mentality. In this sense they constitute an omnipresent set of norms even if they were not perceived as direct, compelling “messages”.

The notion of “*decor*” implies a certain, but still relative, independence and autonomy of the artistic object in relation to the subjects and situations of visual communication. In Greek architecture, as Clemente Marconi has shown in an important article, the sculptural decoration and other adornments of temples were termed *kosmos*, which means “ornament” but at the same time points to the more general idea of comprehensive good “order”.³⁷ The Latin term “*ornamentum*”, which is analogously used for artistic equipment of buildings and places, also implies connotations of social and moral values.³⁸ Both of these notions mean more than a pleasant or impressive impact on the perception of an audience: they define an aesthetic and ethical order that, to a certain degree, is self-sufficient. Thus a temple, with all its meaningful decoration, *is a value in itself*.

Of course, this value – conveyed by splendour of materials and beauty of workmanship as well as by meaningful inscriptions and images – is perceived by the eye. It is visual. But this does not mean that such objects are intentionally and specifically conceived with deep acts of perception, or for emphatic communication with specific viewers, in mind. The direct, communicative and informative function of such objects was low. Indeed, every viewer of an Archaic Greek amphora knew, without the aid of an inscription, that a fully armed woman with an aegis and a helmet was Athena while a bearded man with a trident was Poseidon³⁹; and every participant in an official sacrifice in one of the compitum sanctuaries of Rome knew, without consulting the reliefs on its altar, that this rite was performed by four magistrates sacrificing a bull and a pig.⁴⁰ Thus, no viewer had to look

at these inscriptions and images in order to be informed or convinced of something he didn't know or agree with before. In fact, inscriptions and images serve rather to mark, to define and to confirm *objectively* the specific value and significance of these objects.

Interaction with images in antiquity was different from our interaction with images in contemporary society. Our attitudes are conditioned by the experience of museums, that is, by special places where autonomous "art" objects can be separated from the complexities of social life, reserved for intensive contemplation and exposed for an optimum view with the viewer being freed from all other involvements and thus free to concentrate on deciphering, interpreting and responding to the work of "art". In antiquity there was no such institution like the modern museum, no corresponding notion of autonomous "art", and no autonomous situation of perceiving and responding to those artistic creations.⁴¹ Images of all kinds were part of the real world, and the practice of cultural intercourse was to *live* with them in the frame of social life. Images were mighty factors of this social world, to be respected by living men but also present and powerful in their own right.

Towards the "Reliefbild"

Only late in Greek art and, above all, in Roman art did new tendencies arise that led towards using architecture as an effective screen for visual messages. This process still awaits thorough investigation. Thus, what I am going to sketch here is just an indication of the questions that are to be raised.⁴²

The extreme poles of this process can be marked by the juxtaposition of the Parthenon and the Ara Pacis. The Classical Greek building presents us with an incomparable amount of images. But these images exert a rather limited impact on the viewer due to their rigorous integration into the architectonic structure where they are allowed only in spaces of non-tectonic function: metopes, friezes, pediments. Conversely, on the Ara Pacis (Fig. 5.9), the unprecedented relief decoration covers parts of the altar itself (four small parallel friezes) and the entire outer walls of the enclosure (massive relief panels depicting mythological scenes, allegorical compositions and the two grand religious processions on top of equally expansive floral compositions). While the Parthenon figurative sculpture is removed by architectonic preconditions to a high position, far from the viewer's eye, the reliefs of the Ara Pacis present themselves in large size just little above eye level. Here, the spectator as such is definitely taken into consideration.

The decoration of a Classical temple is obviously governed by a strong concept of architectonic order. All parts that were conceived as "active" elements of this tectonic structure, had to be shaped in their "pure" form: columns as columns, walls as walls, entablatures as entablatures, roofs as roofs. Only the few free gaps between these elements offered space for decoration.

Later, in Hellenistic and Roman times, architecture was no longer conceived as an interplay of active forces, energy and weight, but as a geometric structure of vertical and horizontal elements. Within this new concept the walls changed into neutral surfaces which presented themselves as loci for various kinds of relief decoration.

The development between these two opposite concepts can be traced along several lines including several different types of monuments.

First, sepulchral monuments. The strength of Classical models in the fourth century B.C. may be deduced from two monuments of Lycian dynasts, both standing in Greek traditions. The Nereid monument at Xanthos demonstrates most clearly how strongly the Classical tectonic canon was still observed in the years around 400 B.C.⁴³ The architectonic structure, a huge podium supporting a temple-like sepulchral building, is adorned with a traditional pediment and a narrow frieze on the entablature; even the double frieze on top of the pedestal does not cover the surface but crowns it like a decorative fillet in a manner not so different from the wall friezes around the Siphnian treasury at Delphi or the Panathenaic frieze around the cella of the Parthenon. The same holds true for the multiple friezes of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos.⁴⁴ Very different is the use of architectonic surfaces on Roman sepulchral monuments: an exedra monument from Rome (Fig. 5.10), erected *ca.* 40 B. C. and tentatively attributed to P. Ventidius Bassus, had its curved inner side, as well as its plain outer walls, entirely covered with large-scale relief compositions exalting the deceased's military glory.⁴⁵ In a similar fashion, the tomb building of the Iulii at Glanum in Southern France, with its multi-figured compositions of mythical and contemporary hunting and battle scenes that expand over the whole pedestal, shows how fast this practice spread through the provinces.⁴⁶

Another type of monument that was receptive to relief decoration are statue pedestals. The famous Classical cult statues of Athena Parthenos on the Athenian acropolis and of Nemesis in Rhamnous were erected on low pedestals which were adorned on their front sides with band-like figural friezes of subordinate "decorative" character; the late 4th century B.C. base from Mantinea follows this type.⁴⁷ Much more ambitious are two famous Late Republican pedestals of large size that were used for statue groups: the censor's monument Paris-Munich, from around 100 B.C., which is covered on one side with a censor's activities and, on the three other sides, with a triumphal marine *thiasos*, probably celebrating a victorious sea campaign;⁴⁸ and the spectacular blocks of dark stone from the Capitoline hill, covered with Victories and relief armour that probably belong to a famous statue group set up in honour of Sulla by the Mauretanian king Bocchus in 91 B.C.⁴⁹ In both of these monuments, the pedestals present an almost self-sufficient ideological system in their relief decoration which can be understood even without fully comprehending the free-standing figures that they supported.

Quite extraordinary was the adoption of relief sculpture

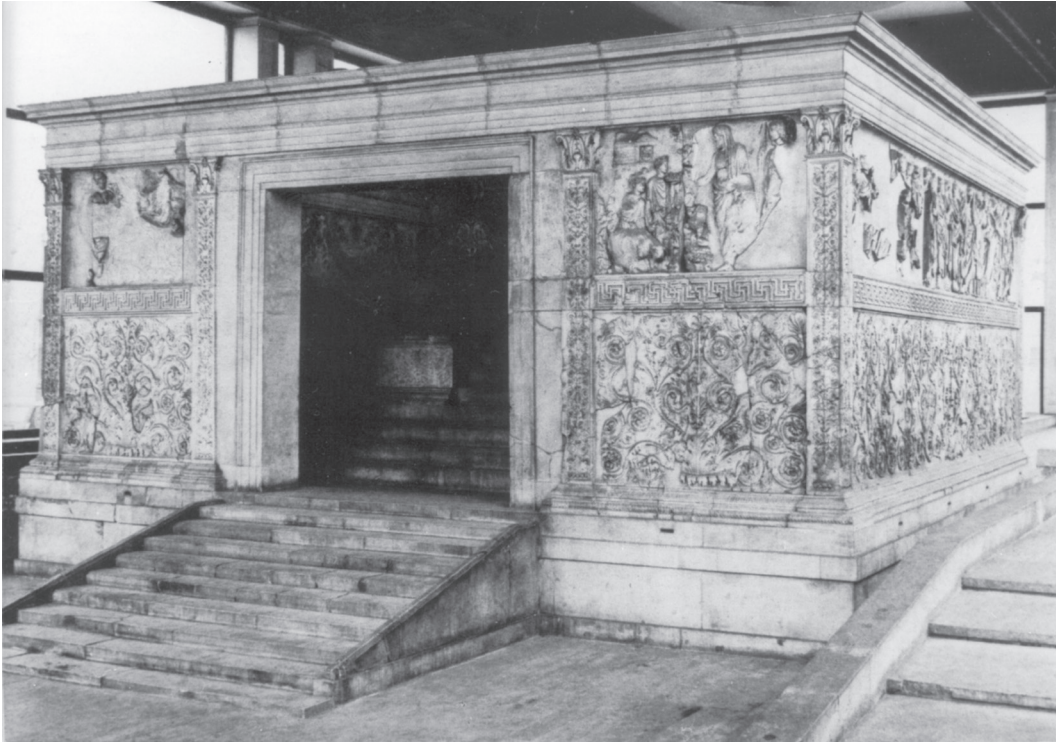


Fig. 5.9 Ara Pacis, west side. Rome. Photo: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg: Photosammlung.

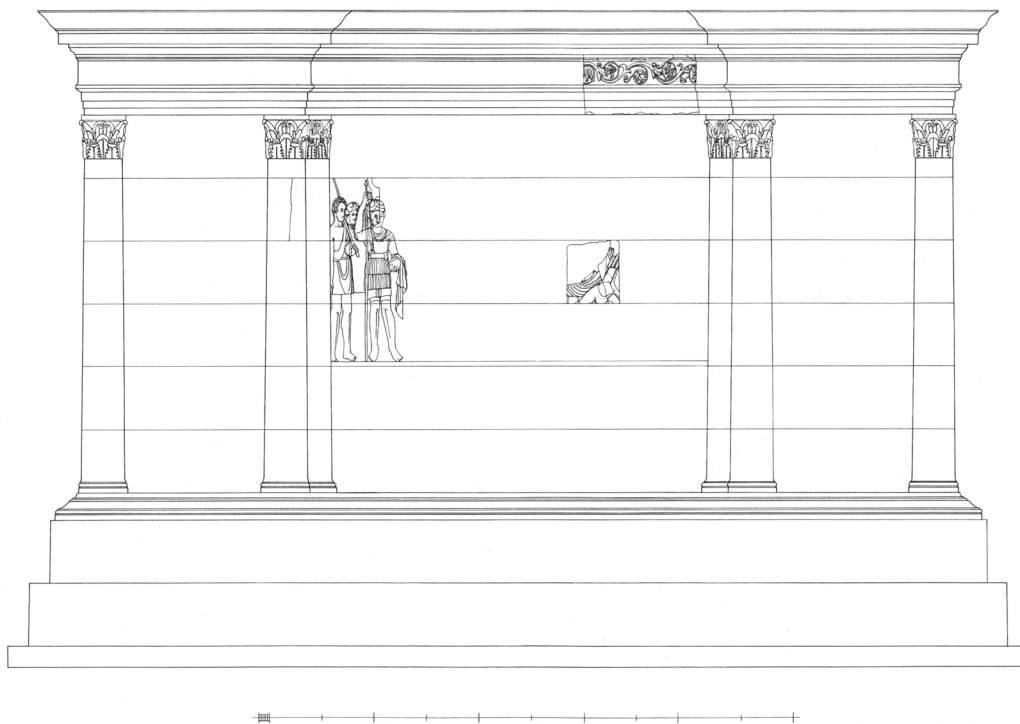


Fig. 5.10 Exedra Monument. Rome. Drawing after *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 89, 1974, Abb. 16, 17.

in the so-called Monument of the Bulls at Delos, a gigantic hall built for the display of a victorious admiral's ship, probably dedicated by Demetrios Poliorketes after the battle of Salamis in 306 B.C.⁵⁰ Around this magnificent

votive-offering, there ran on both long sides a huge frieze in very high relief 50m long and more than 1.60m high that was made up of Nereids and Tritons. The ship was thus surrounded and accompanied by

these vigorous figures as in a semi-mythical triumph procession. In its monumentality, this much-neglected frieze can be considered as a worthy predecessor of the gigantomachy frieze of the Great altar of Pergamon with its explosive fighting groups.⁵¹ On both monuments, the relief depictions are no longer additional elements added to a block-like architecture at a great height as a means of structural decoration and articulation. Rather, they are autonomous compositions, little above eye-level, almost obscuring the tectonic surface, and therefore impressing the spectator with immediate vividness.

Even more innovative was the continuous frieze of the Great altar's inner court, displaying the adventurous story of Pergamon's founding hero Telephos.⁵² This narrative band, too, was very different from the traditional entablature friezes of Greek architecture. With its considerable height of 1.58m it took up the principles of pictorial figure-in-landscape representation. Its display at eye-level for visitors walking through the altar court's porticoes corresponds to the spectator's position in the famous Classical stoai with panel paintings. Also from Pergamon, probably from the entrance gate to the precinct of Athena, come the first examples of rectangular relief compositions; these represent mythological scenes like the Trojan horse (Fig. 5.11).⁵³ While their original location has not yet been ascertained, they must have been inserted, perhaps framed by *aediculae*, somewhere on – or slightly above – eye-level into the walls. Here, we are at the origins of what

might be called a "Reliefbild". In the Ara Pacis, where the entire walls are used for the display of monumental rectangular and frieze-like compositions, these possibilities are exploited to the greatest possible effect.

There also developed in Hellenistic times an analogous kind of smaller decorative relief panels – "Schmuckreliefs" – which were inserted into the interior walls of sumptuous buildings.⁵⁴ Their themes cover a broad range from divinities and myths to idyllic scenes. Unfortunately, almost no contextual evidence is preserved that might give us a sense of how these reliefs were integrated into walls, but it is almost certain that they were exposed, without architectural framing by cornices or pilasters, in more or less plain surfaces. The origins of such panels are again attested in later Hellenistic times, while their peak is reached in late republican and early imperial Rome. Obviously, this phenomenon is similar to the grand relief decoration on the outside facades of state buildings and monuments.

How far Roman art might go in this use of architectonic surfaces for the display of narrative scenes is best shown by the column of Trajan. The third century B.C. column monument of C. Duilius was adorned with the ships' prows of the defeated fleet of Carthage which were fixed at the plain shaft; by this, Rome followed the Greek custom of fixing spoils at columns of temples and single monuments.⁵⁵ Contrary to this practice (in which the architectonic structure of the column was left undisturbed) the victorious



Fig. 5.11 Making of the Trojan horse. Relief from Pergamon, Sanctuary of Athena. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung Neg. Nr. PM 869.



Fig. 5.12 Arch of Trajan. Benevento. Photo after Franz Josef Hassel, *Der Trajansbogen in Benevent* (1966) Tafel 2.

aspect of Trajan's column is made visible by a spiral band of relief scenes, following a pictorial tradition, thus covering the surface of the shaft with countless pictorial scenes.

And yet, with all these new developments, the old tradition of decorative relief sculpture that articulated the structure of architecture, was never abandoned. Temples and sepulchral buildings continued to be adorned on the entablature with band-like friezes.⁵⁶ Now, however, in face of the dominating force of "Reliefbilder", small friezes became, in a new sense, "decorative". They comprised emblematic motifs like weapons, sacrificial instruments, symmetrical figures (real or ideal) engaged in cult activities, and so forth. Their repetitive character and regular rhythm makes them easily perceivable and understandable, notwithstanding their small size, from a great distance. By this, such friezes differ markedly from the great panel reliefs presenting multi-figured scenes of complex political and religious significance.

How consciously these two types of reliefs were adopted together is best demonstrated by the arch of Trajan at Benevento (Fig. 5.12). There, the great programmatic panels celebrating the emperor's political achievements are framed by small decorative friezes: one of them depicting in repetitive form the victor's triumphal procession, the others presenting in emblematic symmetry

cult personal and ideal goddesses of victory in religious activities, adorning candelabras and sacrificing bulls. Quite definitely, however, this "decorative" character does not imply a lack of significance. They just aim at a different sort of impact. While the large panel reliefs convey complex ideological messages, the decorative friezes create an atmosphere of festivity and celebration, a sort of "visual sound".⁵⁷

Looking back from this perspective to architectural sculpture of Archaic and Classical Greece, the paradox of its "decorative" character appears with particular clearness: high meaning and low communication. Roman monuments were on the way of solving this problem.

Acknowledgements

My thanks go to Philipp Kiernan and Peter Schultz for controlling and anglicizing my text.

Notes

- 1 Fehr 1979–1981; Knell 1990; Oppermann 1990; Castriota 1992. Recent approaches: Marconi 1994; Ridgway 1999; Osborne 2000; von Hesberg 2003; Marconi 2004; Marconi, in press.

- 2 Marconi 2004.
- 3 Hölscher 2004, 21–23.
- 4 On this issue see Ridgway 1999, 74–102.
- 5 As is well known, the famous relief frieze of the temple's parapet was not turned towards the interior of the precinct but to the outside, high above the access path.
- 6 Hölscher 2002a.
- 7 On the destiny of the metopes in early Christian times see Holtzmann 2003, 243. For alternative explanations see Boardman 1985b, 214; Schneider and Höcker 2001, 209–210.
- 8 Siphnian treasury: Bommelaer 1991, 123–126 with fig. 42. Athenian treasury: *ibidem*, 133–138 with fig. 49.
- 9 See below pp. 58–61.
- 10 V. Brinkmann has shown this by his studies on the coloring of ancient sculpture and by his paper given at the Athens conference.
- 11 Treasury of Megara at Olympia: Herrmann 1972, 102. Peisistratid (?) temple on the Athenian acropolis: Knell 1990, 39–42; Hurwitt 1999, 121–124. For the date see ultimately Santi 2004. Alcmeonid temple at Delphi: Knell 1990, 43–51. Bommelaer 1991, 181–183. Marconi 1998.
- 12 Thomas 1976; Ridgway 1999, 150–166.
- 13 See Ridgway 1999, 12–19 on Pausanias and other literary sources.
- 14 I do not know of any systematic attempt at a serious “Gattungsgeschichte” of Greek art.
- 15 In earlier periods only the great relief from Eleusis has sometimes been interpreted as a free-standing cult relief; here too, one might explain this by a holy action: the gift of grain, given by Demeter to mankind. But this is hypothetical; see ultimately Micheli 2002.
- 16 Lesche of Knidos at Delphi: Kebric 1983; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1989; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1990; Bommelaer 1991, 202–204. Stoa Poikile in Athens: Hölscher 1973, 50–84. Pinakothek on the acropolis of Athens: Hurwitt 1999, 195–196.
- 17 Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios: Hölscher 1973, 116–119; Palagia 1980, 50–60.
- 18 Rodenwaldt 1923, 25–27 and *passim*.
- 19 On the themes of architectural sculpture see the discussion in Ridgway 1999, 143–183.
- 20 This, of course, does not mean that architectural sculptures were not perceived at all: see the famous lines in Euripides, *Ion* 184–218. Zeitlin 1994; Ridgway 1999, 9.
- 21 A critical discussion on the term of “propaganda” will be presented by Emanuel Mayer.
- 22 de la Coste Messelière 1936, 1–233; Szeliga 1986; see Knell 1990, 18–23; Bommelaer 1991, 118–12; Köhne 1998, 29–44.
- 23 The Argonaut myth has been assumed to be the common denominator of the Sikyonian metopes by Schefold 1993, 262.
- 24 See Herodotus 5, 67. Schindler 1987, 58–60; Knell 1990, 18–23.
- 25 Schnapp 1997, 268–317. See my forthcoming book on early Greek myth representations, chapter on the Klitias crater.
- 26 E.g. Schnapp 1997, fig. 229, 232, 237, 238, 242, 257, 265, 266, 269, 271, 276.
- 27 Lorimer 1947; van Wees 2000.
- 28 *LIMC* I (1981) Achilles Nr. 389 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Schefold 1993, 137.
- 29 *LIMC* VII (1994) Peleus Nr. 47–190; Schefold 1993, 132–133; Reeder 1996, 340–352.
- 30 See Hölscher 1999, 20–27.
- 31 Hölscher 1999, 27–29.
- 32 Ridgway 1999, 82–94, with a sceptical view, opposing Marconi 1994, with introduction by S. Settis, both arguing forcefully and convincingly in favour of coherence.
- 33 Marconi 2004.
- 34 For a first, very preliminary sketch, see Hölscher 2004. A full discussion of these arguments will be presented in a book on “Visual Power in Ancient Greece and Rome” (Sather Lectures Berkeley, Spring 2007).
- 35 On the concept of “*decor*” see Horn-Oncken 1967; Pollitt 1974, 341–347; Perry 2005 cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* IV 206–210 s. v. *décor*; 235–248 s. v. *decus*.
- 36 I hope to demonstrate in the book on “Visual Power” (n. 34) that the role of the audience, far from being an anthropological universal, is often anachronistically misconceived in recent approaches.
- 37 Marconi 2004.
- 38 *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* IX 1008–1016 s. v. *ornamentum*.
- 39 Simon 1976, fig. 72.
- 40 Scott Ryberg 1955, 55–63, esp. fig. 30.
- 41 The assumption of ancient equivalents to the modern concept of the “museum” is one of the most tenacious anachronisms of Classical archaeology. For a short remark in this regard see Hölscher 1994, 878–879. For this, too, see “Visual Power” (n. 34).
- 42 Still important is Rodenwaldt 1923.
- 43 Coupel and Demargne 1969; Childs and Demargne 1989.
- 44 Jeppesen 2002; See Ridgway 1999, 20 who speaks of “glorified moulding”. In some sense exceptional are the 6th to 4th century sarcophagi from Asia Minor, Cyprus and Sidon, characteristically from the periphery of the Greek world, with their walls covered with reliefs.
- 45 Von Sydow 1974.
- 46 Rolland 1969.
- 47 Athena Parthenos: Kosmopoulou 2002, 112–117. Nemesis from Rhamnous: Kosmopoulou 2002, 130–135. Mantinea base: Kosmopoulou 2002, 147–150.
- 48 Kähler 1966; Stilp 2001.
- 49 Hölscher 1980.
- 50 Marcadé 1951; Bruneau and Ducat 1983, 138–140.
- 51 Heilmeyer 1997; Radt 1999, 168–180; Rodenwaldt 1923, 89–90.
- 52 Heilmeyer 1997, 67–194; Rodenwaldt 1923, 93–95.
- 53 Schober 1940, 160–164; Radt 1999, 161.
- 54 Rodenwaldt 1923, 96–103 called them “Reliefbilder”. Froning 1981 speaks of “Schmuckreliefs”.
- 55 Plinius, *naturalis historia* 34, 20.
- 56 Grüßinger, forthcoming. The Greek forerunners of such “decorative” friezes go back to the 4th century B. C.: Hiller 1960; Ridgway 1999, 79.
- 57 See Hölscher, forthcoming.

II. TECHNIQUE AND AGENCY

Accounting for Agency at Epidauros: A Note on *IG IV² 102 AI–BI* and the Economies of Style

Peter Schultz

For Olin Storricks

The host of recent studies treating various notions of ancient agency represents one of the more interesting conceptual shifts in archaeological discourse of the last twenty years.¹ More specifically, new work that frames various aspects of the “ancient individual” within and against ancient Greek society has challenged many cherished orthodoxies.² In the sphere of Greek art and archaeology, however, these new developments have had little impact. Particularly, the interconnected notions of agency, economic status and style have received almost no attention by historians of Greek art.³ This is hardly surprising. Indeed an important recent discussion of Classical sculpture that urges us “to remember that the ‘discovery’ of the artist as a distinct and distinctive personality did not occur until the fifteenth century” provides a representative picture of current thought.⁴

This tendency to mitigate or eliminate the impact of individual craftsman on the development of Greek art is hardly an obvious or natural one. Indeed, the trend actually provokes many interconnected questions. All of these revolve around issues of agency, style and economic status. For example: How did Greek “artists” develop their products, their styles and their professional identities within the daily contexts of ancient Greek culture? How, if at all, did these styles and identities affect their earnings, wages, commissions and careers? What sort of socio-economic value or meaning, if any, can be assigned to the products of sculptors whose professional identities were associated with new or innovative stylistic developments?

One way to try and answer these questions might be to return to the epigraphical and physical evidence. Here, the accounts from the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros provide a unique opportunity to discuss these problems of style and agency in an epigraphically and archaeologically secure context.

Sometime around 380 B.C., the citizens of the small

Peloponnesian city of Epidauros launched a program of monumentalization at the nearby healing sanctuary of Asklepios. Whether in response to the Athenian plague or other political factors, Epidaurian Asklepios had acquired an international reputation during the last quarter of the fifth century. This change in status was accompanied by a demand for sumptuous material votives. By the end of the fifth century a massive building programme was underway. In terms of scale, expense and design, nothing like the Epidaurian building program had been attempted since Perikles’ imperial project in fifth-century Athens.⁵ In addition to smaller structures, the programme at Epidauros included a new temple designed and built by the architect Theodotos (*IG IV² 102 AI*, ll. 7–9), a chryselephantine cult statue made by the Parian sculptor Thrasymedes (Paus. 2.27.1–2; *SEG* 15.208; see also *IG IV² I* 198), a flamboyant tholos designed by the Younger Polykleitos of Argos and built by a predominantly Argive workshop (Paus. 2.27.5; *IG IV² I* 103, l. 15 *et al.*) and an innovative theater which was also attributed to Polykleitos the Younger in the later tradition (Paus. 2.27.5).⁶

The project also attracted a number of sculptors to work on the expensive Pentelic elements of Asklepios’s new cult building.⁷ *IG IV² 102 AI–BI*, a famous inscription excavated at the site, records the expenses involved in these artists’ work and provides a picture of their various sculptural assignments.⁸

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| II. 34–35 | Τιμόθεος ἔλετο τύπος ἐργάσα[σ]θαι καὶ παρέχεν
≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡, ἔνγους Πυθοκλῆς. |
| II. 43–46 | Θρασυμήδης ἔλετο τὰν ὀροφὰν τὰν ὑπένερθε καὶ
τὸ θύρωμα τὸ ἐνδοὶ καὶ τὰ διὰ στύλων ἐργάσασθαι
× × × × × × × × ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡, ἔνγους
Πυθοκλῆς, Θεοφείδης, Ἀγέμων. |
| II. 87–88 | Ἐκτορίδας ἔλετο κερκίδα τὸ αἰετὸ ἐργάσασθαι ×
≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡, ἔνγους Φιλοκλίδας, Τιμοκλείδας. |
| II. 88–90 | Τιμόθεος ἔλε[το ἀκρω]τήρια ἐπὶ τὸν ἄετον
αἰετον × × ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡, ἔνγους Πυθ[οκλῆς, Ἀγέμων]. |

- Il. 95–96 Θεο[. . . ⁵ . . . ἀκροτηρίων ἐπὶ] τὸν ἄτερον αἰετὸν
× × ≡ ≡, ἔνγυος Θεοξενίδα[ς].
- Il. 96–97 . . . ⁸ . . . [ἐναι]ετίων ἐς τὸν ἄτερον αἰετὸν × × ×
–, ἔνγυος Θεοξενί[δας].
- Il. 109–110 Ἑκτορίδ[αι] ἐναιετίων τῆς ἀτέρας κερκίδος × ≡ ≡
≡ ≡ .
- Il. 34–35 Timotheos took the contract to make and supply
carved reliefs for 900 drachmas; Pythokles was
his guarantor.
- Il. 43–46 Thrasymedes took the contract to construct the
ceiling, the cella door and the gates between the
columns for 9800 drachmas; Pythokles, Thepheidēs
and Hagemōn were his guarantors.
- Il. 87–88 Hektoridas took the contract to work one-
half of the pedimental sculptures for 1610
drachmas; Philokleidas and Timokleidas were
his guarantors.
- Il. 88–90 Timotheos took the contract for the akroteria over
one pediment for 2240 drachmas; Pythokles and
Hagemōn were his guarantors.
- Il. 95–96 Theo– took the contract for the akroteria over one
pediment for 2240 drachmas; Theoxenidas was his
guarantor.
- Il. 96–97 – took the contract to work the pedimental
sculptures in one pediment for 3010 drachmas;
Theoxenidas was his guarantor.
- Il. 109–110 To Hektoridas for the sculpture in the other
pediment, 1400 drachmas.

These detailed accounts correspond to a well-known set of architectural sculpture from the temple of Asklepios now located in the National Museum in Athens (Figs 6.1–2).⁹ The sculptural fragments show that the temple's east pediment depicted the sack of Troy and that it was made up of about twenty figures (Fig. 6.1), including the *xoanon* of the Trojan Athena and a pathetic Priam whose face is a mask of sorrow.¹⁰ As Nikolaos Yalouris has shown, technical details of the east pediment seem to suggest that it was carved in two, distinct phases. IG IV² 102 BI (Il. 87–88 and 109–110) show that two separate payments for two halves of a pediment were made to a sculptor named Hektoridas over a year apart.¹¹ For this reason the eastern pediment should probably be assigned to Hektoridas.

The western pediment was also comprised of about twenty figures. This pediment represented the Trojan Amazonomachy (Fig. 6.2). The central Amazon (Figs 6.3–4) can be identified by her large size, royal diadem and the primacy of position as Penthesileia, the Amazon queen. Her traditional opponent is Achilles, the largest warrior in the gable. Since the workshop of Hektoridas seems to have been engaged elsewhere, the western pediment should probably be assigned to the unknown sculptor missing from IG IV² 102 BI (Il. 96–97).¹²

The temple's crowning akroteria, made by the workshops of Theo– (IG IV² 102 BI Il. 95–96) and Timotheos (IG IV² 102 BI Il. 88–90) respectively, showed an abduction scene



Fig. 6.1 The east pediment and akroteria of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros. Athens, Pentelic marble, ca. 380 B.C.E. Original fragments in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Restoration drawing: David Boggs after Yalouris 1992.



Fig. 6.2 The west pediment and akroteria of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros. Athens, Pentelic marble, ca. 380 B.C.E. Original fragments in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Restoration drawing: David Boggs after Yalouris 1992.



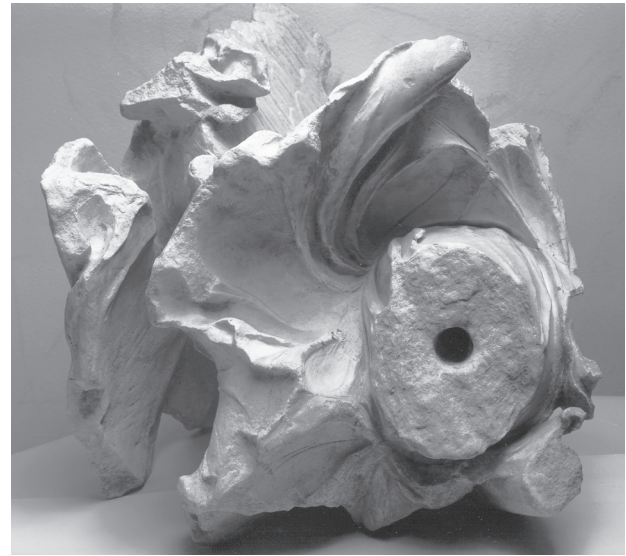
Fig. 6.3–4 Penthesileia. The central figure from the western pediment of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros. Athens, ca. .90m, Pentelic marble, ca. 380 B.C.E. This figure, and the pedimental composition to which it belongs, may be the work of the sculptor's workshop whose name is missing from lines 96–97 of IG IV² 102A. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 136. Photo: Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens; Gösta Hellner, negs. 1974/1172 & 1175. All rights reserved.

accompanied by two flanking Nikai on the east (Fig. 6.1) and a Nike accompanied by two flanking Nereids on the west (Fig. 6.2).¹³ Unlike the pediments, whose figures are often anatomically incorrect, roughly finished and treated as ultra-high relief, the akroteria are fully articulated, intricately crafted and display a concern with circularity, theatricality, transparency and what could probably be called *technical virtuosity*.¹⁴

With the understanding that close examination of sculptural *form* should play an important roll in any complex, social history of art that seeks to understand the connection between style and ancient agency, a closer look at one of these akroteria seems appropriate.¹⁵ Here a major fragment of a Nike from the northeastern corner of the temple's roof provides important material evidence (Figs 6.5–6).¹⁶ The figure was conceived as a dynamic spiral of transparent drapery holding the slender figure of a Nike at its center (Fig. 6.6). Radiating from the proper right side of her torso, the curl of her mantel is characterized by and understood as a series of concentric arabesques. While appropriately impressive from below, as all akroteria were, the dramatic effect of the sculptor's skill is particularly impressive in front of the figure (Fig. 6.5). Here the arced edge of the Nike's mantel merges with, or emerges from, the unpinned peplos below her left armpit. Cupping and emphasizing her left breast, this mannerist fold curls up past the torso and then billows outwards in

a blossom of windswept drapery let loose by the figure's upraised right arm.¹⁷ Under the Peloponnesian sun, the sense of shadow, energy and movement created by this dynamic furl of drapery would have been potent. While these supple drapery effects are stunning – made all the more so by the fact that the preserved fragment, like the famous Nike of Paionios at Olympia (Fig. 6.7, was carved from a single piece of Pentelic marble – the notion of a solid human figure as the conceptual and physical center of the composition is never lost. A series of parallel folds that rhythmically duplicates the opening on the right side of the Nike's peplos twist forward around her slender right side and serve to anchor the vortex of drapery on a figural axis. The sculptor's final *tour de force* came in the upper stretches of the mantle which were slung high between the Nike's outstretched wings. When vividly painted with an array of brilliant colors, this mantle would have provided a stunning theatrical backdrop for the entire figural composition.¹⁸

Other ancient testimonia help to invigorate this epigraphical and material evidence and to provide a broader context for the work of the sculptors of Asklepios' temple. Hektoridas, for example, is known to have made another expensive dedication inside the sanctuary of Asklepios (IG IV² I 695) while Theo– is often thought to be the architect of the temple (Theodotos), a natural enough assumption.¹⁹ Thrasymedes of Paros also was



Figs 6.5 (left) and 6.6 (right) Nike. An akroteria from the eastern pediment of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, Athens, restored height ca. 1.7m, Pentelic marble, ca. 380 B.C.E. This figure may be the work of Timotheos; his contract is recorded on IG IV² 102A lines 88–90. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 162. Photo: Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens; Gösta Hellner, negs. 1974/1161 & 1170. All rights reserved.

known in Roman times and Pausanias (2.27.1–2) provides a detailed discussion of his cult statue at Epidauros. While these are interesting points, it is worth noting that only the Attic sculptor Timotheos made a significant impact on the later art historical tradition.²⁰ Pliny included him in a list of famous fourth-century bronze casters (*NH* 34.91) and connected him to a statue of Artemis that had been moved to Rome (*NH* 36.32) while Pausanias associated him with a statue of Asklepios in Troezen (Paus. 2.32.4). His most well-known association, however, are with the sculptural program of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos (*NH* 36.30–31 and Vitruvius 7 *praef.* 12–13) and, more speculatively, with a famous *Leda and Swan* group known from multiple Roman copies.²¹

But even if this traditional connection between the akroteria of the temple of Asklepios and a “Great Master” is acknowledged, it does not help us significantly with our questions about ancient “artists” and ancient Greek styles. For this, we need to take a closer at the accounts. As noted, IG IV² 102 BI ll. 87–88, 96–97 and 109–110 make clear that a sculptor whose name is lost to us and Hektoridas each received 3010 Aeginitan drachmas (4300 Attic drachmas) for the completion of the temple’s two pediments.²² On the other hand, lines 88–90 and 95–96 show that Theo– and Timotheos each received 2240 Aeginitan drachmas (3200 Attic drachmas) for the completion of the temple’s two sets of akroteria. The temple’s pediments were comprised of about twenty figures each while the sets of akroteria were made up of three (west) or four (east) figures. In sum, Hektoridas (for example) was paid 215 Attic drachmas for each of the three-quarters life-sized Pentelic statues that he sculpted for the temple’s east pediment.²³ Timotheos, on the other hand, was paid 800 Attic drachmas for each of the three-

quarters life-sized Pentelic statues that he made for the temple’s roof.²⁴

Why was Timotheos paid four times more than Hektoridas for his sculpture?

Now since we are concerned here with problems of ancient styles, agencies and economies, one instinctive response would be to suggest that this epigraphical evidence confirms the existence of a socially based hierarchy (here an economic hierarchy associated with “skill” or “technique” or “status”) within which these sculptors operated and that the “famous” Timotheos was able to command a higher price for his work because of his position in this hierarchy as a “master.” For the moment, however, let us resist this intuitive solution. Remember, our evidence for Timotheos’s “fame” is based on Roman sources and our knowledge of Timotheos’s style is confined to his work at Epidauros and to possible Roman copies of his *Leda and Swan*, a connection that is speculative.²⁵ Instead, let our initial response be to look to the material evidence itself.

Is there a fundamental difference between the Pentelic marble used in the pediments and that used for the akroteria which might explain the difference in price that exists between the sculptural contexts? Here, the answer is no. The Pentelic marble used for both pediments and akroteria share identical physical and visual characteristics. Grain size is consistently very fine (ca. 0.5–2.5mm) in both. In terms of luminosity, the sculpture from both architectural zones was observed in diffuse morning light, in raking noon sunshine and with a flashlight and magnifying glass. To the naked eye, light refraction at all times was identical. These visual similarities have been confirmed by isotopic analysis.²⁶ The temple’s pedimental sculpture and its akroteria were made of similar, high quality Pentelic



Fig. 6.7 The Nike of Paionios. Olympia, ca. 1.95m, Pentelic marble, ca. 420 B.C.E. The Nike was set up on a triangular pillar over three captured Spartan shields. It was identified by an inscription (Olympia V, no. 259) that read: "The Messenians and the Naupaktians dedicated [this] to Olympian Zeus, a tithe from war [spoils]. Paionios of Mende made it and was the victor [in the competition] to make the temple's akroteria." Olympia Archaeological Museum. Photo: Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens; Walter Hege, neg. Hege 663. All rights reserved.

stone. It does not seem that the difference in the sculptors' contract wages can be accounted for by a difference in their basic materials.²⁷

Another response to the epigraphical evidence might be that the sculptors of the akroteria were responsible for peripheral aspects of their projects. Is it possible that Theo— or Timotheos's contract included the fashioning of the statue base for their images or maybe the painting of their sculptures? Again, the answer is no in both cases. Bases for akroteria in the Classical period were always considered part of their buildings and are almost always carved as one piece with the sima.²⁸ The two tasks were connected in logistical terms (as opposed to terms of

design) only insofar as the temple architect made basic technical and spatial allowances for the installation of roof sculpture. In the case of the temple of Asklepios, this is made clear by *IG IV² 102 BI ll. 97–99* which shows that:

ll. 97–99...⁷ ...ἐλε]το παραιτιδας καὶ ἀγεμόνας καὶ βάθρα τοῖς ἀκρωτηρίοις...⁶ ...≡≡≡, ἔγγυος Ἀτλατίδας, Αἰνέας, Πυρρᾶς.

– took up the contract for the tiles on the raking cornice of the pediment, the antefixes and the bases for the akroteria for [+]³²⁰ drachmas; Atlatidas, Aineas and Pyrras were his guarantors.

Similar evidence seems to rule out possibility that subsidiary decoration contributed to Theo— and Timotheos's expenses, since *IG IV² 102 BI ll. 99–100* records that:

ll. 99–100 Εὐκλῆς...⁹ ...ὀν ἐπὶ τὰ κρωτήρια ≡≡≡ :: : , ἔγγυος Λυσίου[v].

Eukles took up the contract for the [decoration] of the akroteria for 305 drachmas; Lysion was his guarantor.

Satellite projects cannot explain the added cost of the akroteria. Indeed, even if we (mistakenly) ignore the epigraphical evidence which specifically distinguishes different contracts, it would be extraordinary if the costs involved in setting or painting the akroteria added over 4800 Attic drachmas to their cost.

Another possibility is that the akroteria were gilded.²⁹ Can the comparatively high cost of the sculptures be explained by the possibility that Theo—'s and Timotheos' sculptures were covered in gold? This solution is the most attractive of our hypotheses based on raw materials.³⁰ It is also implausible for two reasons. First, as noted, *IG IV² BI ll. 99–100* already records the cost for the final decoration of the akroteria at 305 drachmas. The contract itself shows that peripheral decorative expenses were listed separately and that they were considered to be distinct projects with their own discrete contracts. This is common practice that it is attested with absolute certainty elsewhere.³¹ In other words, if the temple's akroteria were gilded – which is quite possible, although no traces of gilding were noticed during excavation – then the purchase of the gold and the actual process of gilding the sculpture would have been recorded independently.

Second, even if our hypothetical gilding was (unusually) merged with the contract for the akroteria, it is impossible that the gold leaf required to gild the temple's roof sculpture cost over 4800 drachmas. Leaf gilding did not cost this much. Think of the Athenian goldsmith Adonis from Melite who earned a grand total of 166 drachmas for the 166 gilding leaves (*petala*) used for the 30 marble rosettes of the ceiling of the Erechtheion's north porch (*IG I³ 476, ll. 291–295*).³² About 5.5 *petala* were required for each rosette. Each rosette had a diameter of 0.22m. Thus in late fifth century Athens, it cost about five and a half drachmas to fully gild a circle about one foot across. The reason for the relatively low cost of gilding

(it was cheaper than paper, see IG I³ 476, ll. 288–291) is that such gilding was purchased in the form of *very* thin leaves not much thicker than *ca.* 1/900mm; hardly any gold was used in their manufacture.³³ When these factors are considered, the addition of hypothetical gold does not seem to account for the akroteria's extraordinary cost. The hypotheses based on raw materials or logistics do not seem to explain the discrepancy between Hektoridas and Timotheos's wages.

But what happens if we look at *style* as opposed to logistics or raw materials? Here, a number of interconnected differences between the two sets of sculpture manifest. To begin, the akroteria are finished in the round while the pedimental sculpture is treated as high-relief. While the backs of the akroteria seem somewhat cursorily treated (although a fair analysis must take into consideration that they were fully exposed while the pedimental sculpture was protected by the temple's gable) a comparison between the two architectural zones reveals a marked difference in the manner in which the sculptures were conceived and crafted. The back sides of the pedimental figures are rough, barely finished and marked with the inevitable dowel holes and struts used to attach them to the tympanum wall. (These characteristics are neither necessary nor inevitable for pedimental sculpture as the pediments of the Parthenon show.) The rear view of Penthesileia (Fig. 6.4), for example, demonstrates how her anatomy collapses when it is out of view. The Amazon's shoulder and arm are flattened out against her side and become simple slabs of marble. Her upper torso, in addition to being unfinished (traces of the point are broadly evident) is marked by the large (*ca.* 0.10 × 0.43m) socket where a marble strut that was used to secure her to the tympanum wall. This utilitarian craftsmanship is evident elsewhere. While the akroteria are also "frontal" their backs and sides are treated as intricate parts of complex three dimensional wholes. In terms of basic three dimensionality, the sculpture in the two architectural zones are different; only the akroteria display evidence of attention to complex circular form.³⁴

The interest in mannerist effects and transparent drapery, or lack thereof, constitute another stylistic and technical distinction between the two sets of sculpture. A comparison between the drapery of Penthesileia (Figs 6.3–4) and the the drapery of the northeastern akroteria (Figs 6.5–6) illustrates the difference. The sculptor of the Penthesileia pulls his drapery over and around the Amazon's figure, both following and emphasizing the form beneath. Timotheos, on the other hand, cuts his drapery loose from all practical concerns and treats his marble fabric as pure form that almost seems to exist in its own right and for its own sake. (Indeed, it is almost as if Timotheos' drapery creates its own formal reality.) These differences would have been made more noticeable when the pieces were painted and set in the open air where the transparent, mannerist arabesques of Timotheos's marble would have created deep pockets of void and shadow and the billowing mantle of Timotheos's Nike would

have served as a theatrical background against which this sophisticated carving took place. The pedimental sculptor's Amazon is representative of straightforward, functional carving. Timotheos's akroterion is a kaleidoscope swirl of form, light and sensuality. Timotheos is doing something different in his work.

The nature and amount of free standing drapery associated with the akroteria sculpture and the pediments is also worth comparing. Like the famous Nike of Paionios, the eastern lateral akroteria are marked by solid (un-pieced) marble elements that extend dramatically away from the central core of the body. The broken marble edges of the left mantle of the northeastern akroterion reveal that the Pentelic marble is less than 0.01m thick at the fracture and that this thickness was sometimes stretched as far as a *meter* from the core of the piece. Sheila Adams has reminded us that "while the sculptor was negotiating his chisel around these drapery ridges one false blow would have ruined his work by knocking a hole in the thin wall of marble... like filigree, as soon as it was damaged, the whole effect was lost."³⁵ A similar fragility of material is not evidenced in the pedimental figures. There, the most well preserved drapery ridges extend no more than 0.02m from the figures' central mass. The interest in the physical limits of marble and the boundaries of sculptural technique is confined to the temple's akroteria alone.

The pediments and akroteria of the temple of Asklepios display stylistic differences that can be documented in concrete terms. The styles of Hektoridas and Timotheos, for example, are distinct. This difference in style does not correspond to a difference in date – both clearly belonging to the first half of the fourth century. Rather, this difference in style corresponds to a difference in contract wages. Hektoridas was paid 215 Attic drachmas per piece and produced, as we have seen, a large scale composition of twenty figures in which he cut technical corners when possible and convenient. Timotheos was paid 800 Attic drachmas per figure and produced a set of sculpture that included at least one marvel of sculptural τέχνη – a word that implies craft, art, cunning and style.³⁶ In this particular case, exceptional sculptural skill, complexity and elegance – in other words, some idea of *virtuosity* – seems to have contributed to the determination of a sculptor's pay.

While this evidence might provoke a number of conclusions, the most important for us is that it strongly suggests that the sculptors at Epidauros worked within an established social (economic) hierarchy and that their position within this hierarchy was connected to their skills, techniques and styles. The archaeological and epigraphical evidence from Epidauros suggests that, in some instances at least, this premise is valid. Certain sculptors seem to have been considered to be master artists or master craftsmen by their peers and within their communities. And they were paid accordingly. Different styles, the technical skills connected to them and the sculptors associated with both existed within a hierarchy of value. The best (and maybe even the worst) Greek sculptors

– exactly like their ancient peers in the fields of poetry, music, philosophy, rhetoric and athletics – competed with each other, bragged about the accomplishments and thereby pushed each other (and themselves) into undiscovered formal and conceptual territory.³⁷ Not every artist could be equally “well practiced in the arts of Athena” as Simonides once boasted for the sculptor Arkesilas.³⁸

Of course, the differences between the styles and “salaries” of Hektoridas and Timotheos that we have outlined above have little to do with the traditional biologico-evolutionary model of stylistical development currently entrenched in our histories of Greek art. Rather, these transformations and differences are better understood in terms of culturally situated “ambition,” (φιλοτιμία) “competition” (ἀγών) and “talent” (ἰδμοσύνη) and the culture of struggle that made these words meaningful for members of ancient Greek society.³⁹ If this is true, then the changes in style that we observed at Epidauros might be partly understood as material evidence for fierce competition between individual artists seeking to elevate themselves within the shifting hierarchies of Greek society by way of individual acts of technical virtuosity – by way of what we might call “art.”

Of course, this can hardly be the whole story. For in addition to evidence that points firmly and directly to the possible wealth and status of a select group of ancient Greek sculptors, we must also consider all the usual scorn that was so often heaped upon “lowly craftsmen”; that they were “worthless” (Herod. 2.167), “slavish” (Xen. *Mem.* 2.8.3–5) and “bad defenders of the city” (Xen. *Oik.* 4.2–3). Obviously, by the early fourth century, Greeks could perceive a difference between virtuosi and “worthless,” anonymous laborers. It seems equally clear that the *perception* of these two positions demands the corresponding *existence* of a vast middle ground within which individual workmen, craftsmen, artisans and artists of various talent and ambition vied for sustenance, wealth, prestige and glory.⁴⁰

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Notes

- 1 Agency and the historical significance of ancient individuals: Sewell 1992; Dobres and Robb 2000, 8–10; Fowler 2004; Gardner 2004; Hodder and Hutson 2003, 90–105; Johnson 2004, all with bibliographies. Ancient individuals and social hierarchies: Wobst 2000; Sassaman 2000; Sinclair 2000; Hodders and Hutson 2003, 99–105. Clarke and Blake 1994; Price and Feinman 1995; Clark 2000; Dobres and Robb 2000, 8 and 10–11; Joyce 2000; Walker and Lucero 2000 and Duploux 2006.
- 2 Agency, individuals and ancient Greek culture: Fowler 2004; Thomas 2005; Christ 2006; Duploux 2006; Farenga 2006 and Schultz 2007.
- 3 Exceptions: Tanner 2006, 141–204 and Schultz 2007.
- 4 Ridgway 1999, 186 (my italics). See also Ridgway 1997, 242; *et al.* However, Stewart (1977; 1979; 1990; 1997; *et al.*) and Hölscher (2000; 2002; *et al.*), for example, provide important and nuanced alternatives.
- 5 Contextual evolution of the sanctuary’s development: Wickkiser 2003 and Riethmüller 2005. Architectural evolution of sanctuary’s development: Burford 1969; Gruben 2001, 143–53 and Riethmüller 2005 with bibliography.
- 6 Theodotos and temple: Burford 1969, 141–4. Thrasymedes and the cult image: Mitsos 1967; Burford 1969, 59–61, 154–55; Krauss 1972; Ridgway 1997, 36; Lapatin 2001, 109–111 (with comprehensive bibliography) and Muller-Dufeu 2002, 537. Polykleitos and the *thymele* and theater: Burford 1969, 141–45; Seiler 1986; Kanellopoulos 2006; Schultz 2007, 223–24, ns. 147–50.
- 7 Athenian sculptors and Epidauros: Burford 1969, 155 and 202 (Table 10); Yalouris 1992; Smith 1993; Lattimore 1997, 257; Ridgway 1997, 41 and 366; Feyel 1998; Rolley 1999, 203–208 and Levendi 2003, 101–102. Late fifth and early fourth century Diaspora of Athenian craftsmen: Burford 1969, 203–05 and MacDonald 1981 with bibliography. Sculptural and stylistic context of the decorative program: Brown 1973, 5–15. Summary chronological problems and the temple of Asklepeios, with detailed comments on style: Yalouris 1992, 82–83. Not all the sculptors were Athenian. The “Hektoridas,” for example, is Peloponnesian. I am indebted to Catherine Keesling for pointing out this fact.
- 8 Roux (1961, 84–130) and Burford (1969) give the standard readings of the inscription; Feyel (1998) gives a good overview of the problems. Even so, there is still much left to be done. The contracts for the architectural sculptures – 3010 drachmas for the pediments, 2240 drachmas for the akroteria – were paid in Aeginitan drachmas. These rather unusual amounts correspond with the round figures of 4300 Attic drachmas (for the pediments) and 3200 Attic drachmas (for the akroteria); see Stewart 1979, 113 n. 31 for the ratios. Burford’s (1969) line numbers for *IG* IV² I 102A are consistently off by one or two places. (For example, Burford 1969 p. 213, ll. 34–35 = *IG* IV² I 102A ll. 36–37). However, since her account remains the easiest available translation in English, her numbers are retained throughout.
- 9 Yalouris 1992, with a comprehensive bibliography.
- 10 Priam: Stewart 1990, fig. 459. Osborne (1998, 212–13) gives the stylistic context.
- 11 Burford 1969, 215 and Yalouris 1992, 67–74.
- 12 Schlörb (1965) suggested that Timotheos be restored here. Others have proposed Thrasymedes, the sculptor of the cult image (Pollitt 1974, 204–15), Theodotos, the architect of the temple (Marcadé 1986, 172), or even Theodoros,

- the architect of the early fourth century tholos at Delphi (Levendi 2003, 101 n. 38). All suggestions are speculative barring the discovery of further evidence.
- 13 Yalouris 1992. Barringer (1995, 146–147) discusses the iconography.
 - 14 Hasty workmanship of the temple's pediments: Yalouris 1992 figs 8.d, 10.d–e, 11.e, 14.d, 18.d, 42.c, *et al.* Conceptualization of fifth and fourth century pediments as high relief: Croissant and Marcadé 1972, 890 (the temple of Apollo at Delphi), Yalouris 1992, 38 (the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros) and Touloupa 2002, 40–44 (the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria) all with comparanda and references.
 - 15 *Style* is here defined as the distinct combination of physical and formal characteristics – scale, mass, shape, color, line and texture – evident in a given set of objects. In general terms, the arguments that sustain the use of stylistic analysis as a tool for investigating social and cultural meaning were first formulated by Winckelmann and then refined by Arnold Houser (1951), Meyer Schapiro (1953) and Ludger Alscher (1956; 1957). For the importance of style specifically in archaeological theory and practice, see: Shanks and Tilley (1992, 137–171) and Hodder and Hudson (2003, 59–65) both with bibliographies. For socio-stylistic analysis of material culture, see: Borbein (1973), Barnard (2001, 115–142; 168–93), Hölscher (2002), Elsner (2003) and now Bol (2004), all with bibliographies. Recent case studies by Shanks and Tilley (1992, 172–240), Neer (2002), Olson (2002, 137–162) have affirmed the significance of this type of analysis for contextual archaeologists and art historians.
 - 16 Yalouris 1992, 67–74.
 - 17 The sensuality of the specific pose and the connection of Nike to Aphrodite: Gulaki 1981, 89–90; Picon 1993 and Levendi 2003, 99.
 - 18 Painting of ancient architectural sculpture: Reuterswärd 1960; Tiberios *et al.* 2002, Artal-Isbrand, *et al.* 2002 and Brinkmann 2004 with bibliography.
 - 19 Hekoridas: Muller-Dufeu 2002, 537. The notion that Theo– is Theodotos may be supported by the later tradition which preserves several examples of architects doing double duty as sculptors. See, for example: Skopas (Paus. 8.45–47), Pytheos of Priene (Vitruvius 7. *praef.* 12–13; Pliny *NH* 36.30–31), Satyros of Paros (Vitruvius 7. *praef.* 12–13; Pliny *NH* 36.30–31) and Polykleitos the Younger (Paus. 6.6.2; 2.27.5). While this idea the accords well with the often heterogeneous skills of Greek craftsmen (Burford 1969, 138–45), Yalouris (1992, 68) argues against the restoration.
 - 20 For this reason, Timotheos is often (Schlörb 1965, 1–5; Yalouris 1992, 70–72; Levendi 2003, 101) given credit for the design of the temple's elaborate sculptural program. It is sometimes (Yalouris 1986, 185–86; Todisco 1993b, 57–58) argued that this understanding of Timotheos' role is confirmed by IG IV² 102 AI (ll. 34–35) which records “Timotheos took the contract to work and supply *typos* for 900 drachmas,” with *typos* being understood as “models.” However, as Pollitt (1974, 272–93), Aleshire (1989, 157), Posch (1991), Oliver (2006) and now Palagia (2006b, 263) have shown, *typos* almost certainly refers to “reliefs.” These lines probably refer either to a set of metopes over the pronaos or the relief on the base of Thrasymedes' cult statue.
 - 21 Ridgway 1981, 67–68; Stewart 1990, 273–74, Bol 1992, 170–73; Yalouris 1992, 70 and nn. 270 and 272, Ridgway 1997, 245–56, Rolley 1999, 206–08 and Levendi 2003, 101–102. Analysis of the copyist tradition in sculpture and gems: Rieche 1973 and Dierichs 1990. Discussion of the theme within the context of fourth century Greek sculpture and vases: Lippold 1954. For the fifth century original that seems to stand near the beginning of the tradition see Caskey (1925, no. 22) and Comstock and Vermeule (1976, no. 37).
 - 22 Stewart (1979, 113 n. 31 and 1990, 66) provides the monetary ratios.
 - 23 The fact that the amount paid for the pediments do not divide into round, “per figure” costs, suggests that the pediments were paid for as *compositions*, not individual pieces. Contrast this with the piece work on the Erechtheion IG I³ 476.
 - 24 The price is not high when considered in context. Middle fourth-century sculptors normally made 3000 drachmas for a single bronze statue – with materials constituting only 300 drachmas of the cost (see IG II² 555; Diogenes Laertius [6.35] and Stewart 1979, 109–11). In architectural sculpture, the sculptor Androsthenes, for example, made 5000 drachmas per Pentelic pedimental figure when he worked on the new temple of Apollo at Delphi (Stewart 1982 and Stewart 1990, 66); see also n. 27 below.
 - 25 Schlörb 1965 expands the list of “known” works significantly.
 - 26 I am grateful to Olga Palagia for sharing her research on the use of Pentelic marble at Epidauros.
 - 27 Indeed, the actual difference in price for the pediments and akroteria at Epidauros may be considerably *larger* than it initially appears if the sculptors were responsible for selecting and transporting their own marble as was sometimes the case (Stewart 1990, 66). If this was so, then the pediments (with forty figures), not the akroteria (with seven figures), should have been significantly more expensive because of the larger number of assistants that would have been needed for carving and the larger amount of raw marble that would have been selected and transported.
 - 28 The akroteria bases of the Parthenon (Hurwit 1999, fig. 133), the Hephaisteion (Dinsmoor 1976, 233), the Propylaia (Dinsmoor 2004, 303–04) and the temple of Athena Nike (Schultz 2001, figs 3–9) are only the most well-known examples.
 - 29 Ancient leaf gilding: Kluge and Lehmann-Hartleben 1927, 31–34; Oddy 1985; 1990, 108 and 1991. Gilding of ancient marble architectural sculpture: Fengler 1886, 21–33; Paton 1927, 227–231; Reuterswärd 1960; Palagia 1993, 12; Schultz 2001, 2–5; Artal-Isbrand, *et al.* 2002; Tiberios *et al.* 2002; St. Clair 2004, 174; Higgs 2006, 192; Palagia 2006a, 127 and Palagia 2006b, 261 (all with bibliographies).
 - 30 Indeed, the famous gilded Nikai akroteria of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (*Olympia V*, no. 259; Paus. 5.10.4) and gilded Nikai akroteria of the temple of Athena Nike (IG II² 1425 ll. 103–106 *et al.*; Schultz 2001) would have been known to the Athenian sculptors at Epidauros and could have exerted a strong influence there.
 - 31 Compare, for example, the procedural stages by which the gilded marble rosettes for the ceiling of the Erechtheion were commissioned and paid for in 408/7 (IG I³ 476). First, the model-maker for the rosettes (a sculptor named Neseus) was paid 8 drachmas for his design (IG I³ 476, ll. 258–266). Second, the goldsmith who made the rosettes'

gilding (a craftsman named Adonis) was paid 1 drachma per gilding leaf for his wares (*IG I³ 476*, ll. 291–295). Third, the sculptors of the rosettes (a crew of at least 9 men which included the designer Neseus and at least eight other craftsmen) were paid 14 drachmas for carving each rosette (*IG I³ 476*, ll. 327–345). And lastly, the master gilder of the rosettes (probably a goldsmith named Sisypheos, see *IG I³ 476*, ll. 54–59) was paid an unknown amount for final gilding of the sculpture (*IG I³ 476*, ll. 351–354 and Paton 1927, 409). In this case, the accounts (and thus contracts) for models, gold, sculpture and gilding were meticulously distinguished to ensure accountability and quality. (*IG I³ 476* is also important for understanding the processes of production for ancient Greek sculpture generally. Robert Scranton [1969, 33–34, followed by Ridgway 1969, 117 and others], for example, considered the logistical process by which the “ancient sculptor” worked to be a mystery [his quotation marks]. He asks of the Erechtheion frieze: “Did the designers of the sculptures make a drawing of the frieze, or a model, or simply a verbal description – a *syngraphe*, which, like the architect, he subdivided into individual jobs to be contracted out?” The Erechtheion accounts answer this question in a relatively unambiguous manner.)

32 Paton 1927, 409. See also n. 31 above.

33 One of our best ancient testimonia to this fact comes from Pliny (*NH* 31.19.61) who notes in his discussion of gilding techniques that *one ounce of gold could yield seven hundred and fifty micro-thin gilding leaves each about 10 cm square*. Master gilders were prized in the ancient world precisely because they could take very small amounts of gold and stretch it over vast surfaces. Ancient leaf gilding: Kluge and Lehmann-Hartleben 1927, 31–34; Oddy 1985; 1990, 108; 1991. Evidence of leaf gilding on a modest sculptural scale is demonstrated by an early fifth century statuette of Athena found north of the Erechtheion in 1887 (Stais 1887, cols 31–34; pl. 4) and by a similar image with a gilded aegis found the same year east of the same building (Studniczka 1887, cols 133–54 esp. 142–44; pl. 7). A gilt copper wreath found in an early fourth century tomb at Olynthus (*Olynthus X*, no. 505 pl. XXVIII) and two pair of gilt greaves found in the antechamber of Tomb II and the “Prince’s Tomb” at Vergina (Andronikos 1984, 186; 216) were gilded using similar leaves. See also n. 31 above.

34 Of course, it could be argued that this difference was “dictated” by the architectural setting of the sculpture on the temple itself. Even though the Parthenon pediments were

fully finished (a fact that problematizes arguments based on simple types), in the case of the temple of Asklepios this kind of argument could make sense. And it is precisely here that the complex social interactions between sculptor, patron and commission become important. If we want to suggest that akroteria were considered (for whatever reason) inherently more complex than pediments (which may or may not be true), then we should probably ask how this knowledge contributed to the choice of sculptor and what the selected sculptor brought to the table. In Olympia, for example, the Elean officials held a contest for the akroteria of the temple of Zeus and Paionios won it (*Olympia V*, no. 259; fig. 13). Was the same true for Epidauros? Was a particular kind of “master” required or sought for this particular kind of composition? Were only akroteria connected to these sorts of architectural contests? Is this why Timotheos was paid more? Now even if we cannot answer these questions at present, asking them is just as important. More to the point, the possibility that one particular zone of architectural sculpture was considered (for whatever reason) to be more important or more complex than another and that the sculptors of this particular zone were, in fact, paid more certainly seems to merit a discussion within the context of ancient social practice as well as modern typological divisions. And it is precisely this kind of question that could make a complex social history of ancient Greek art significant.

35 Adams 1966, 94. See also Yalouris 1992, 76–80.

36 Pollitt 1974, 32–37.

37 Greek sculptors and social hierarchies generally, see: Stewart 1979, 106–11; Lauter 1980; Müller 1988, Hurwit 1997 and Schultz 2003. Duploux (2006) now provides the fundamental model for discussions of ancient competition and the hierarchies that result.

38 Arkesilas: Diog. Laert. 4.45.

39 This sort of culture of competition for Greek sculptors (for which there is much Roman evidence, e.g. *NH* 34.53 and *NH* 36.17) seems logical enough when placed within the fundamentally *agonistic* character of Greek society (see Onians 1999, 9–104; Neer 2002; Hölscher 2000; Fleischer 2002 and now Duploux 2006). Such competitions are unambiguously attested to have taken place between potters (e.g. Athenaeus 12.541a), sculptors (e.g. *Olympia V*, no. 259), architects (e.g. *IG I³ 64a*) and tapestry designers (e.g. *Ath. Pol.* 49.3).

40 Duploux 2006 now gives the comprehensive discussion of these social goals in ancient Greek society.

New Evidence for Parthenon East Metope 14

Katherine Schwab

Recent examinations of the Parthenon east metopes have revealed new information that can increase our understanding of the original individual compositions and of the series as a whole.¹ While the theme of the gigantomachy has been well established, the individual figures are not well preserved due to damage suffered when the building was converted to a Christian church in the 6th century.² The new information is most evident in East metope 14 which has more drill holes for metal attachments than any of the other east metopes. Equally, the surface features of the poorly preserved charioteer and associated drill holes may yield new clues to its pose. Results from these new examinations indicate a greater number of holes for metal attachments over those formerly recognized and suggest a new reconstruction for the metope in which the adjacent triglyph is integrated with the composition.

East metope 14 preserves a chariot group with a charioteer usually identified as Helios (Fig. 7.1).³ Two horses are easily discernible pulling a chariot to the left. More recently, in his thorough study of the east façade, Korres found evidence for four horses; thus any reconstruction of the metope composition should include a quadriga.⁴ Additional animals are present in the scene – two fish leap about the hub of the chariot wheel at lower right, and a small water fowl appears at lower left. The overall impression is that a figure at right is driving a quadriga rising above or emerging from a straight horizontal element that represents a border, most likely Okeanos, separating two realms. Four equine hind legs are visible and they disappear into this horizontal ledge. The leaping fish indicate proximity to the surface of Okeanos while the water fowl identifies the shore (Figs 7.2–4).

Three other metopes in the east series include chariot groups: East 5, 7 and 10.⁵ The charioteer in each example has been identified by proximity to the god fighting in an adjacent metope; thus we have Amphitrite-Poseidon (East 5–6), Hera-Zeus (East 7–8), and Apollo-Artemis (East

9–10). In East 7 the horses rear above a carved uneven terrain, but even here the chariot group is entirely above the ground line in contrast to the chariot in East 14. While these three compositions include chariots pulled by one (East 5?) or two horses (East 7 and 10), they are part of a pair of metope compositions, unlike East 14, which stands alone. In fact, the presentation of pairs is confined to the central metopes which are bounded by the only three-figure compositions in the east series: East 4 and 11.⁶

Under closer examination, the surface of East 14 reveals new information that can help our understanding and interpretation of the composition. Korres' discovery that *four* horses are pulling the chariot provides us with a very different impression of this composition and differentiates it from the other east metopes with horses. Whether or not it was intended, the reconstruction by Praschniker, which has been the most widely published image, conveys a relatively quiet scene with a small figure of Helios driving his chariot pulled by two horses truly at the periphery of the battle between the Olympian gods and earth-born giants.⁷ In contrast, Korres has given us a startling and different image to absorb, with a much more complex composition. Not only are the four horses much more conspicuous, the outermost horse in the quadriga would have projected outward beyond the edge of the metope floor. In his reconstruction, Korres has added wings to the horses and a crown of rays to the head of the charioteer. Praschniker had reconstructed the charioteer with a crown as well, but it was much smaller. According to Korres' reconstruction, the driver is dressed in a short knee-length garment and cloak; however, the metope preserves only fragments of a cloak.

My recent study of East 14, including a careful analysis of the surface along with detailed digital photographs, indicates that the evidence for metal attachments is more than previously documented by either Praschniker or Brommer.⁸ Twenty-nine holes for attachments are preserved, and three more holes are likely (Fig. 7.5). Three

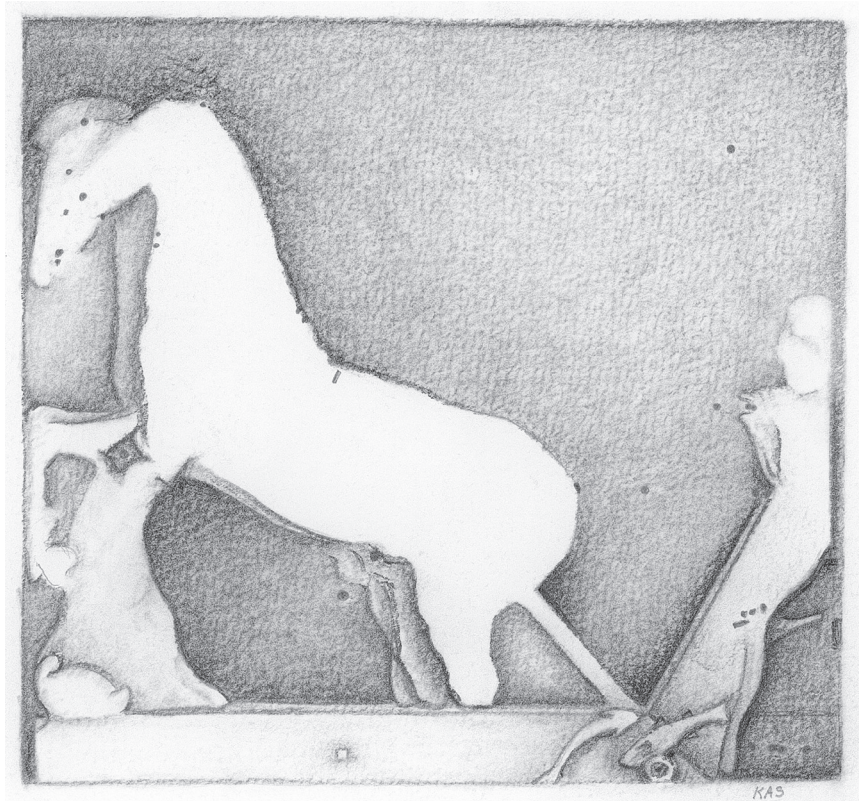


Fig. 7.1 Parthenon East 14. Drawing by K. Schwab.



Fig. 7.2 Parthenon East 14. Photograph by K. Schwab. Courtesy of the Acropolis Museum.



Fig. 7.3 Parthenon East 14: oblique view from the left. Photograph by K. Schwab. Courtesy of the Acropolis Museum.



Fig. 7.4 Parthenon East 14: oblique view from the right. Photograph by K. Schwab. Courtesy of the Acropolis Museum.

bronze pins remain in situ, in the chest area of the horses, at the location of the top railing of the chariot, and at the knee level of the charioteer. Three holes are noteworthy for their large diameter and for the fact that they penetrate the full depth of the relief.⁹ The preserved bronze pin for the hole in the horses' chest area had to have been inserted and bolted with a bronze nut that remains in situ at the back, before the metope was originally installed in its position in the entablature.¹⁰ The nut is attached to the pin in a small carved shallow depression at the back of the metope slab (Figs 7.6–7). The other two holes do not have nuts at the back to anchor them, but the hole below the horses' bellies slopes slightly downward to the back, which would allow an attachment to be anchored simply through the weight of gravity. The same is true for the metal attachment in the upper right corner of the relief. An explanation for these holes has remained a matter of conjecture, but a new arrangement of the horses proposed here may provide at least a partial solution for two of the holes.

The outline of two horse heads in low relief is preserved and has long been the source for assuming that the chariot group was a biga. A re-examination of these heads shows a difference in length and the possibility that the faint outline of the lower portion of a third head can be detected. Other features seem to provide further support

for the presence of four horses. In Korres' study of the east façade, he found evidence for three genitalia in East 14 and the likelihood of a fourth horse based on breaks in the marble surface.¹¹ By carefully examining the metope surface one can still see the genitalia of the innermost horse (horse #1) carved in very low relief. The right hind leg of this horse was not carved, and it was either omitted or painted against the background.¹² The first carved horse leg is the left hind leg belonging to horse #1. The next two horse legs belong to horse #2. Finally, the fourth horse leg, which is only partially preserved, would be the right hind leg belonging to horse #3. Two indentations near the top of the legs also indicate genitalia. These preserved features provide strong evidence that the chariot was pulled by four horses, not two. A quadriga changes how we can view this relief, from a quieter peripheral scene to a dynamic and complex composition.

In his reconstruction drawing of the eastern entablature, Korres shows the team of four horses each overlapping slightly so that all four forequarters are visible, in a fan-like arrangement. The outermost horse, a trace horse, is the only one for which its hind legs would have been completely exposed.¹³ The other horses' hind legs are preserved at the level of the hock as the animals make their ascent above a horizontal ledge representing Okeanos. However, this arrangement of the four horses does not

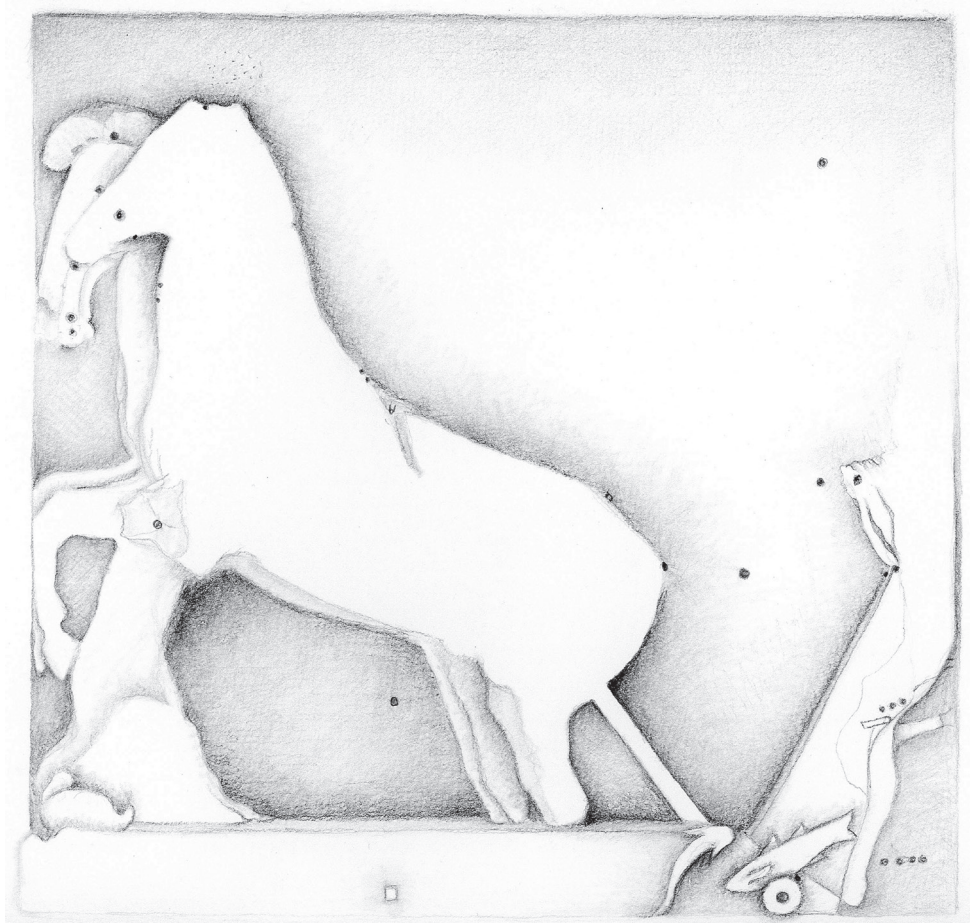


Fig. 7.5 Parthenon East 14: preserved holes for attachments. Drawing by K. Schwab.



Fig. 7.6 Parthenon East 14: detail of bronze pin in chest area. Photograph by K. Schwab. Courtesy of the Acropolis Museum.



Fig. 7.7 Parthenon East 14: detail of bronze nut fastened to pin at back of metope. Photograph by K. Schwab. Courtesy of the Acropolis Museum.

help explain the purpose of the two large drill holes described above.

By turning to the Parthenon frieze it is possible to find numerous examples from the north and south

sides which show quadrigas in motion. In each case, these teams of horses consistently show the pole horses farther back, whereas the two trace horses are stretching forward (slabs N 11–13, 17–19, 21–22, 24, 26, 28; S

26, 29–32).¹⁴ Supporting examples can also be found in representations on vases from the fifth century B.C.¹⁵ A distinction between the pole and trace horses is made when the quadriga is shown in profile. In contrast, when the chariot and charioteer are shown in a three-quarter view, it is more common to find the horses overlapping in the painted examples, similar to the arrangement proposed by Korres.¹⁶

A revised reconstruction is proposed here for the quadriga in East metope 14 by using the distinction made in the Parthenon frieze between the pole and trace horses. The outermost horse or trace horse should be pulled forward, overlapping and mostly obscuring the other horses. Importantly, the two large bronze pins function as additional support in the chest area and the left hind leg for this once highly visible trace horse.¹⁷ A small square projection (approximately 2.0cm²) near the base of the horizontal ledge would have helped to align the hoof and, at the same time, be concealed by it. The bronze pin (without a nut) below the horses' bellies could have helped to support the outermost horse's hind legs. Presumably the outermost horse would have been carved with the other horses, as part of the original block of marble, but needed additional support provided by these two bronze pins.

A few other observations support the presence of four horses. The innermost horse (horse #1) is carved in low relief in the chest area, approximately 3.0cm in depth. Of the two preserved horse bellies, the inner one is 5.0cm in depth which is odd if it belonged with horse #1. The depth of the shoulder area for the preserved horses (approximately three) is 12.0cm. While this may seem to be the limit or front plane of the carved composition, one can compare it to North metope 1 which has a biga in a much better state of preservation. The depth of the chest area for the biga in North 1 is 22.0cm, thus we have ample evidence that the original composition in East 14 could have had at least another 10.0cm added to its overall depth. It may also be significant that these two chariot groups, East 14 and North 1, were intended to be conspicuously visible at the northeast corner of the temple.

While bronze attachments have been used to secure the quadriga in creative ways, another support for the horses' forelegs would have been the preserved rocks behind the water fowl at left. This rock formation rises up and seems to merge with the area where we would expect to see the forelegs of the pole horses.¹⁸ The lower half of this form appears as a convincing natural shape that sets off the water fowl and provides a context for a shoreline. In contrast, the upper half configures to a more rectilinear shape that is intended to blend with the forelegs (technically from the forearm to the hoof), some of which were carved as one piece with the rocky mass. Indeed, the faint outline of the fetlock and hoof of at least two legs are visible.

Bronze attachments would have been used to define the harnessing for the quadriga, as indicated by numerous holes. Bridles, reins for the pole horses, trace lines,

breast bands, and girths would have been represented.¹⁹ Approximately 13 holes are preserved to indicate elements of harnessing attached in bronze. Obviously, more attachment holes for harnessing would have been added to the two horses (horses #3 and 4) closest to the viewer for which little or nothing remains.

In his reconstruction drawing Korres proposed wings for the horses, and this feature in representations on vases sometimes show the trace (outer) horses equipped with wings.²⁰ If indeed the horses were winged, the outermost wing may have been attached, but whether or not the material for the wing was marble or bronze remains uncertain.²¹ Bronze would have been lighter and perhaps the wing could have been supported by attachments on the missing outermost horse. In contrast, the wings of horse #1, the inner trace horse, may have been painted on the metope background. The only other example of a winged horse in the east series (or the entire metope program) is East 7, usually identified as Hera driving a biga for Zeus in East 8.²² In this example the inner wing is carved directly on the background and presumably an outer wing (in bronze?) was attached. An attachment hole in the middle of the wing and another hole along the top of the outer horse's back could have provided the support for a second wing to complete the pair.

The nude legs of the charioteer are preserved and they are positioned tightly together, with knees slightly bent (Fig. 7.8). Due to the ascent of the chariot at a sharp angle, the hips, which are partly obscured by the adjacent triglyph, would be understood as leaning farther back



Fig. 7.8 Parthenon East 14: detail of charioteer's legs and lower right corner. Photograph by K. Schwab. Courtesy of the Acropolis Museum.

than the placement of the feet. The heels, exposed at the very base of the chariot floor that blends with the lower edge of the metope, protrude 4.0cm to the right beyond the preserved chariot wall. The charioteer's lower torso area is partially visible although the surface is damaged.²³ Folds from a cloak are wrapped over his extended right shoulder and upper arm, and the cloak seems to have passed over the chariot's front railing before trailing behind the driver. The cloak would have wrapped tightly over each upper arm area, and flared up in a series of folds behind his neck. This representation is frequently the case in examples on vases.²⁴ Loose fabric draped over the lower arms and hands would be dangerous while driving a chariot and it is seldom shown in this manner on the painted examples.

One should imagine the charioteer, clad only in a mantle, leaning forward as if urging on his team of horses while holding the reins and possibly a crop/whip in his hands. The overall size of the figure is small, and can be compared to Eros, the figure at left in East 11.²⁵ Only the front half of the torso was carved and made visible. A sharp vertical line down the length of the figure at right marks where the triglyph began, forming a vertical band of approximately 6cm between the carved figure and the edge of the marble slab. Tool marks perpendicular to the surface can be seen along the area of the torso, and it is

possible that more of the figure was initially carved but then cut back to fit the exposed space for the metope. Another indication that the composition was more fully carved is the lower edge of the chariot side railing carved in low relief – originally it continued farther to the right, as faint lines attest.²⁶

Both Praschniker and Korres show the charioteer as Helios wearing a crown of sun rays. While nothing is preserved on the surface of the metope to support this particular reconstruction, the image of Helios similarly adorned has parallels in relief sculpture and vase painting and may very well be plausible in this case.²⁷ Alternatively, or in addition to the crown, a large hole for an attachment in the upper right area of the relief would be a logical place to see a bronze metal attachment representing the sun disk, and perhaps it was gilded as well. This third hole penetrating the entire slab of marble seems to rely on the weight of the attachment since it lacks a space for a nut to fasten it at the back. The hole slopes downward to the back of the marble, making it possible to simply “hang” the bronze attachment by relying on gravity.²⁸

The chariot would have been seen in profile, with the front and side carved in marble. Two bronze pins and additional holes at the top of the front railing and along the side near the driver's knee indicate that these railings were added in bronze. In contrast, the inner railing was

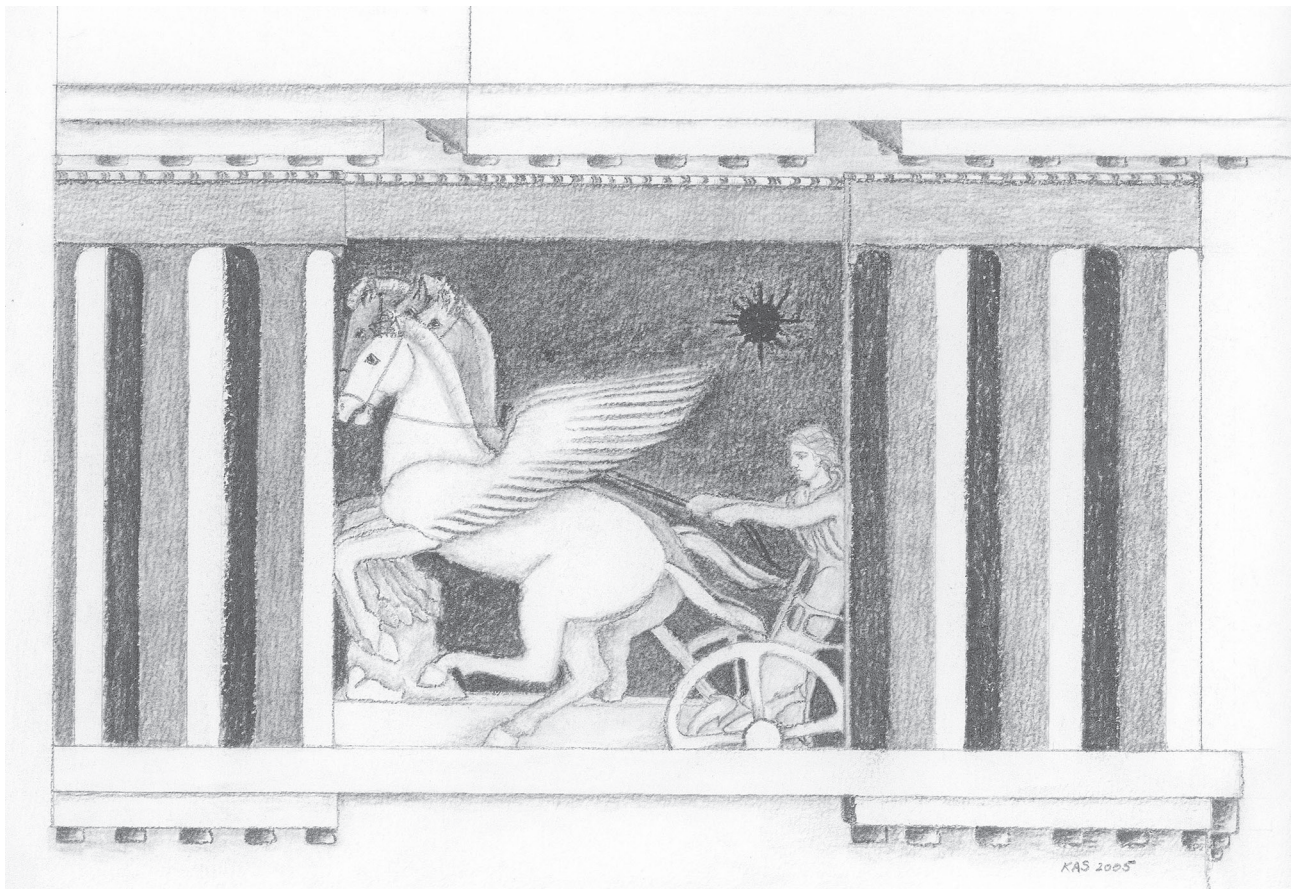


Fig. 7.9 Parthenon East 14: reconstruction of metope composition. Drawing by K. Schwab.

carved in low relief against the background plane. A large wheel hub is preserved in marble, with a hole at its center to receive a bronze wheel. Another hole, smaller in diameter, can be seen near the top of the hub against the background. This smaller hole would have been a lead pour channel to anchor the larger bronze pin for the wheel hub.

Two fish leap around the wheel hub and their forms are intact. The fish at left leaps up to the surface on a diagonal line moving to the right. In contrast, its companion at right swims down to the left directly above the hub. Marine life so close to the wheel and the water's surface suggests that the chariot is in close proximity to land or a shoreline.

The other animal by the water is a fowl in the lower left corner directly in front of the rocky mass. The bird, which resembles a duck, swims to the left. By combining the water fowl with rocks, the designer of this metope composition has succeeded in conveying the impression of a shoreline.

While most of the features on the surface of East metope 14 can be explained, the roughened surface and accompanying drill holes in the lower right corner remain puzzling. The roughened surface is the same height as the carved horizontal ledge occupying most of the lower area of the metope, as if it is a visual continuation of that carved ledge. Four holes are in the center of this roughened area, and they form two pairs that connect approximately two cm. within the slab of marble. The outer two holes are for bronze pins, and the other two holes are pour channels for lead.²⁹ Because of its position in the lower right corner of the metope surface, it is tempting to suggestion that a lead or silver plaque-shaped attachment was affixed here to give the suggestion of sun glinting on the water's surface.

In conclusion, the new evidence supports a reconstruction of the composition showing Helios as the driver guiding his team of four horses above the horizon of Okeanos (Fig. 7.9). The possibility of placing the marble figure of Helios in front of the triglyph itself, as in Korres' reconstruction, seems to be technically difficult to achieve. Instead, the sun god would have been partly concealed by the adjacent triglyph at right, thus emphasizing his renewed ascending motion to signal an Olympian victory over the earth-born giants. His quadriga, resplendent with bronze harnessing, would have been especially conspicuous with a pair of wings to accentuate their ascent. With fish, water fowl and rocks at the shoreline, the sun god and his radiant sun disk would have symbolically marked the transition from darkness to Olympian victory.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

- 1 See Schwab 2004, 150–165; Schwab 2005, 159–197; Schwab 2006, 428–431.
- 2 See Tournikiotis 1994 and Neils 2005.
- 3 Inv. 200013 (Acropolis storeroom). Measurements: H 1.32m., W 1.32 m., D 10cm. Schwab 1988, 56–59. Also see Praschniker 1928, 180–5, 221, pl. XXVII; Brommer 1967, 38, 204, 208–9, pls 77, 79–80, who interprets the charioteer as Poseidon; and Berger 1986, 1, 71–6, pls 70–1; Tiverios 1982, 227–9. For a superb new color photograph of East 14 by S. Mavrommatis, see Choremi-Spetsieri 2004, 100, fig. 63a,b.
- 4 Korres 1994, 62.
- 5 East 5: Acropolis Museum inv. 20004; East 7: Acropolis Museum inv. 20006; East 10: Acropolis Museum inv. 20009.
- 6 Brommer 1967, 209, proposed Poseidon in association with East 13 and 14 on the basis of 6th century examples such as the Lydos krater from the Acropolis and the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi. The difficulty with this proposal is that Poseidon is more readily identified as the god fighting in East 6, and his consort Amphitrite as the charioteer in East 5. The figures in East 13 and 14 do not form a pair. For a discussion of East 13 see Schwab 1988, 54–5, pls 36–8, and Schwab 2004, 161–3, figs 6.8–10.
- 7 For the fullest account see Apollodorus *Bibliotheca*, 1.6.1–3, Loeb edition, trans. by J.G. Frazer, Cambridge, Mass.; and *LIMC* 4, s.v. Gigantes.
- 8 All the east metopes were removed from the east façade in 1986–7 and replaced with cement casts. The original reliefs are located in the Acropolis storeroom for study and conservation treatment. Their removal in the 1980s is the first time since their original installation in the 5th century B.C. East 14 received conservation treatment in 2004 and laser cleaning in 2007. The relief is preserved in two joining pieces, a vertical break in the marble grain is located to the left of center. My examination of the metope included both the front and back under ideal conditions in the storeroom thanks to C. Vlassopoulou and D. Maraziotis. It should be noted that Praschniker and Brommer examined the metope when it was in situ and therefore would not have seen the back of the relief.
- 9 Chest area: round pin diameter at front is 0.5cm, the hole at the back of the relief is 3.5cm in diameter, and the square cover to the pin is 1.5cm. Under the belly: the hole is approximately 1.5cm in diameter.
- 10 I thank C. Vasiliadis and E. Maniadaki of the conservation staff for discussing these bronze pins and their installation with me. No trace of lead is preserved in the hole at the

- back. E. Maniadaki observed that the marble for the east metopes was of lower quality due to the presence of veins within the slab and how the surface breaks occurred. C. Vlassopoulou informs me that the veins consist of aluminosilicate. Bronze attachments in architectural sculpture are discussed by Harrison 1988, 341–49; and in sculpture by Palagia in Clinton and Palagia 2003, 275–6; Palagia 2006, especially 119–162.
- 11 Korres 1994, 62.
 - 12 Paint was used in the metope. A sample taken from somewhere on East 14 showed the use of Egyptian blue paint ($\text{CaCuSi}_4\text{O}_{10}$), "... (thin section under polarizing microscope)..." See Korres *et al.* 1989, 202, fig. 31. I owe this reference to C. Vlassopoulou. For a discussion of the use of paint in architectural sculpture see E. Harrison 1988, 339–49.
 - 13 In a quadriga, the inner horses are harnessed to the central pole, and called the pole horses. In contrast, the outer horses are called the trace horses. For a thorough treatment of the subject, see Moore 1972, 389–90 and n. 6.
 - 14 Berger and Gisler-Huwyler 1996; Delivourias 2004.
 - 15 Examples include a calyx krater attributed to the Group of Polygnotos, Ferrara 44893, from Spina, *Beazley Addenda*² 323, *ARV*² (1062) 1680, Boardman 1989, ill. 167; column krater attributed to the Nausicaä Painter, NY 41.162.69, *Beazley Addenda*² 330, *ARV*² 1108.23; amphora (type B) attributed to the Peleus Painter, Agora P 9486, *ARV*² 1040.18, *Beazley Addenda* 319, Moore 1997 cat. no. 7, pls 3–4, Matheson 1995 cat. no. PE 22, 110, pl. 88; stamnos attributed to the Midas Painter, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16531, *ARV*² 1035.1, 1679, Matheson 1995 cat. no. M 1, 208, pl. 159.
 - 16 Boardman 1989, for example, see nos 167, 202 (profile), and 287 (three-quarter view).
 - 17 Brommer 1967, 38, wondered if the large bronze pin served to attach the horses' forelegs. He noted that Praschniker did not explain a purpose for the pin, but the pin is clearly indicated in Praschniker's drawing of the metope surface. G. Despinis has suggested the possibility that marble forelegs were carved separated and attached to this bronze pin fastened with a nut (personal communication). It may be possible as well that stucco was used to attach some of the forelegs of horses #3 and #4.
 - 18 Examples of rocks elsewhere in the metopes: East 1 (Acropolis Museum inv. 20000), with rock by fallen giant's knee; East 6 (Acropolis Museum inv. 20005), Nisyros representing nearly 50% of the metope surface; East 7 (Acropolis Museum inv. 20006), rocky or uneven terrain beneath chariot group; North 1, rough terrain but little is preserved; North A (Acropolis Museum inv. 704), rock beneath rearing horse; North 29, rough terrain with horse's forelegs stepping down onto metope floor; North 31 and 32, rocky outcropping as a seat; South 1, rough terrain; South 8, rock in center of metope floor; West 8, possible rocky outcropping in center;
 - 19 Moore 1972, ill. 15, for a description and diagram of the harnessing used for a quadriga.
 - 20 See the Blacas krater, London E 466, where the two trace horses are winged, Marcadé 1958, fig. 22b. Winged quadrigas are usually associated with representations of Helios.
 - 21 I owe the suggestion of an attached wing to C. Vlassopoulou. E. Maniadaki thought that the bronze pin might help to support a bronze wing.
 - 22 East 7: Acropolis inv. No. 20006. See Brommer 1967, pl. 55.
 - 23 Palagia 2006, 129 and n. 111, following Korres' reconstruction, states that "Helios was almost entirely free-standing and is now lost." On the basis of Korres' drawing this would be plausible, but the preserved carved figure and its placement within the metope next to the triglyph suggest a different interpretation.
 - 24 Boardman 1989: fig. 243, pyxis lid attributed to the Lid Painter; fig. 287, hydria attributed to the Meidias Painter; fig. 294, hydria attributed to the Painter of the Carlsruhe Paris.
 - 25 East 11: Brommer 1967, pl. 71; Schwab 1996, 81–7. Measurement of the knee to the foot for the charioteer in East 14 is 25cm, in contrast to Ares in East 3 where the measurement is 31cm.
 - 26 Yeroulanou 1998, especially 413–16, where she discusses the extra width given to metopes with chariots in the east series, and that the planning of the building and its architectural sculpture began first at the east end. It is possible that the metope blocks had to be recut to fit between the triglyphs, and this may explain why the chariot railing initially was carved farther to the right, in an area that would eventually be concealed by the adjacent triglyph.
 - 27 Examples of Helios wearing a crown of sun rays: one of the best known examples is the metope from the temple at Ilion, cf. Smith 1991, fig. 201, and the Blacas krater, London E 466, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 9.
 - 28 I thank L. Porter for this suggestion.
 - 29 I thank G. Despinis for this explanation. Brommer 1967, 38, observed that the holes in each pair meet.

Hair or Wreath? Metal Attachments on Marble Heads in Architectural Sculpture

András Patay-Horváth

It is a well-known fact that Greek sculptors, especially in the Archaic and Classical periods, were fond of applying metal attachments to their marble statues. Until recently, however, a comprehensive treatment of this practice was lacking. In 2003, I completed my PhD thesis on this topic.¹ This work included the collection, examination and documentation of more than 500 pieces of sculpture on which traces of metal attachment could be observed or realistically reconstructed. In this present article, I will present some results from this research that are relevant to the study of architectural sculpture. Specifically, I will examine the problematic evidence for the use of metal attachments on marble heads on some specific examples of sculpture from architectural contexts.

Series of drilled fastening holes on sculpted human heads may have served several purposes. Sometimes these holes held some kind of ornament. This could be a wreath, often made up of leaves and florals, or sometimes radiating rays.² In other cases, however, these holes may have fastened locks of metal hair or, according to some, helmets or other headgear.³ In some cases, where the reconstruction of the lost attachments is problematic, the choice between these options can be solved only via close comparisons with other media, most often vase-paintings.⁴ But in most cases it is rather simple to determine the purpose of the holes. For example, rows of holes on the lower rim of the hair were almost always made for additional locks, while those arranged in a straight line across the hair, often accompanied by a fillet, were drilled for the application of some other attachment or adornment.

In some special cases, however, the picture is not so clear-cut. The best example of this is the well-known stele from Sounion (Fig. 8.1).⁵ This famous relief nicely illustrates how many different reconstructions can be generated on the basis of interpretation of fastening holes.

This relief also illustrates how little attention is usually paid to such “minor” details, even though they are fundamental for the reconstruction and understanding of the original work of art. Perhaps because of its fame, only two authors until Schäfer’s important 1998 essay, paid serious attention to the specific details of this important object.⁶

While, the Sounion-stele obviously does not come from an architectural context, there is good reason for a detailed discussion of the piece in a volume that treats architectural sculpture. A thorough treatment of this piece can serve as an instructive starting point for the study of related sculptural pieces which definitely belong to the realm of architectural adornment.

The first interpretation of the holes in the Sounion stele was that the holes held a wreath made of metal. This was shortly followed by another theory which reconstructed a helmet for the youth. However, since this interpretation could not explain all details of the physical evidence, scholars returned to the theory of wreath and supported it with various arguments. The large number and close spacing of the holes was understood to provide evidence that the missing wreath was made of silver mined from nearby Laureion: the multiple fastening points must have served to prevent the valuable decoration from being stolen.⁷ Ever since Seltman called attention to the *Heros Stephanephoros*, mentioned several times in the inscriptions at Sounion, the reconstruction of a wreath for the head of the youth on the Sounion stele seemed to be the only obvious choice.⁸ The only question asked about the wreath was whether the youth was meant to be placing it on his head or if he was removing it?⁹ In fact, the questions most frequently discussed regarding the relief were those of basic iconography. Was the relief votive or funerary? Did it depict a victorious athlete who had died in his youth or the “*heros*” mentioned in the inscriptions?¹⁰



Fig. 8.1 Fragment of a stele from Sounion, Athens Nat. Arch. Mus. 3344. Photo DAI Athen NM 5998 G. Hellner.

The standing naked youth visible on the stele is fragmentary. But the head, depicted in profile, remains intact. The hair covering the top of his head was carefully polished relatively smooth while parts beneath the fillet encircling the head are only roughly worked. On the section of the hair running from the temples to the occiput directly under the fillet, 9 closely spaced fastening holes can be seen. Below these holes, only a few locks closest to the face were carved. Clearly there was no effort to fully finish this section of the relief; the hair falling down the nape of the neck was also carved in a very coarse manner.¹¹ On the locks above the forehead, no fastening holes can be found below the fillet and here also the hair is rather carelessly modelled.¹²

In 1955, Hafner rightly drew the conclusion from these observations that the popular reconstruction of a wreath for this youth was mistaken.¹³ Metal wreaths are usually fastened to a fillet or to a series of holes drilled above a fillet, but never with holes those below the fillet proper.¹⁴ It is very likely, then, that the fastening holes on the Sounion stele were used to hold a line of applied locks. These then provided a perfect cover for the roughly sculpted sections of the youth's hair (Fig. 8.2).¹⁵ While the attachment of so many metal locks of hair to a marble sculpture may seem strange to us today, at the beginning of the 5th century B.C. it was a common practice.¹⁶

With this example in mind, I turn now to architectural sculpture. There are two important heads where a series of holes again raise the question: hair or wreath?

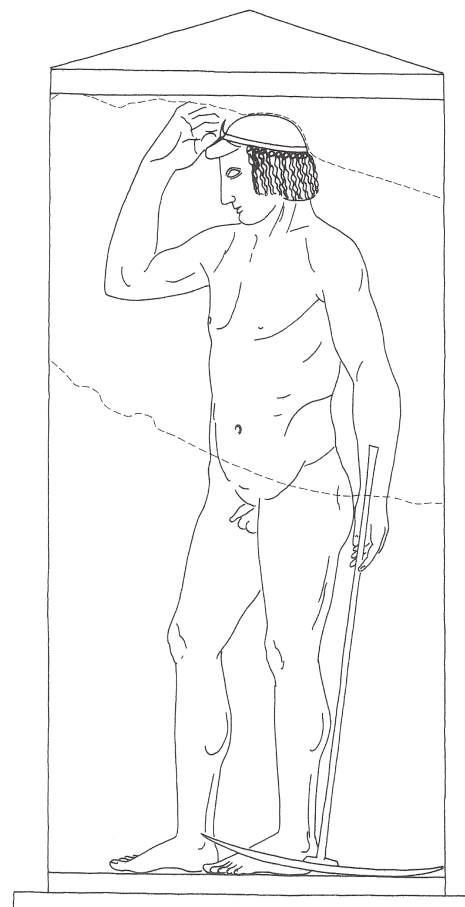


Fig. 8.2 Reconstruction of the stele in Fig. 1: Schäfer (1998) 139 Abb. 1 (Drawing by K. v. Woyski)



Fig. 8.3 E. Head of a male figure Rome, Mus. Cap. 2768. LaRocca, *Amazzonomachia. Le sculture frontonali del tempio di Apollo Sosiano* (Roma 1986) Pl. XIII.



Fig. 8.4 Reconstruction of the head in Fig. 8.3. *ibidem* 29 Fig. 8b.

Let us consider first the statue from the supposed pedimental group of the temple of Apollo Sosianus. Since the reconstruction of La Rocca, this figure has been believed to have represented Theseus (Fig. 8.3).¹⁷ In this case, the head not only had locks of metal hair which have been preserved, but other metal decoration as well. According to La Rocca, a metal ribbon ran round the head behind the waving locks, and a laurel-wreath was placed above it, fastened by a series of holes found on the top of the head (Fig. 8.4). La Rocca's reconstruction was questioned by Simon. She asserted that the wreath reconstructed by La Rocca had no parallels in Classical art and suggested instead that "kurze, bewegte Locken aus Metall".¹⁸ To support this reconstruction (Fig. 8.5), Simon cited the depiction of Theseus on Aison kylix in Madrid.

Simon's observation is intriguing because wreaths in vase painting generally pass in a straight line directly above the ear. While we know of no parallel in architectural sculpture where supplementary locks were applied to the calotte in a curved line like this, in this case, such a solution would be easy to imagine. This is because the statue was meant for a lateral as well as a frontal view; for this it may have seemed important to continue the line of locks along the side of the head.¹⁹



Fig. 8.5 Reconstruction of the head in Fig. 8.3. E. Simon in: *Ausgewählte Schriften I*, (Mainz 1998) 119, Abb. 10,4.



Fig. 8.6 Head of the centaur I ("Eurytion") from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Photo: Author.

Even so, it is puzzling why there would have been so few locks applied to this head and why were they aligned in such a way. Fastening holes for metal locks are usually more tightly spaced. Moreover, in some vase painting contemporary with the carving of the statue, we can observe wreaths bending upwards in a similarly curved line.²⁰ In this case then, I feel that the traditional reconstruction with the laurel-wreath is the most likely. The series of holes in this head from the temple of Apollo Sosianus fastened a wreath, not locks of hair.

While the previous debate is fairly well-known, there has been no discussion of the holes in the head of Centaur I, the so-called Eurytion from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Fig. 8.6). At first glance, as is the case with the Sounion stele, it seems obvious that this series of holes served to fasten a wreath. However, this particular issue has never been discussed in detail. The exact arrangement and placement of the holes, so vital for the reconstruction of the lost attachments, has never been studied.

The description and interpretation proposed by Treu in 1897 has been universally accepted.²¹ For this reason it deserves repetition: "Wie bereits hervorhoben, war das gesenkte Kahlhaupt des Kentauren bekränzt. Sieben centimeterstarke Bohrlöcher auf der rechten, drei auf der linken Seite und eine flache Rinne am Hinterkopf weisen auf einen Wein- oder Epheukranz aus Bronze hin, durch den Eurytion vor allen übrigen Kentauren allein ausgezeichnet ist."²²

While it might make sense that the wreath was fastened with more holes on the more visible side, it is strange that these fastening holes are completely missing on or above the forehead. If there was really a wreath attached to the head, why does this sequence not continue all the way round the head? In examples in which a wreath was surely applied, fastening holes can be found above the



Fig. 8.7 Satyr in the tondo of the kylix by the Panaitios-P. Boston MFA 10.179. J.D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston 1954) Pl. XXXVIII fig. 74.

forehead as well.²³ While this strange lack of fastening points could, perhaps, be explained by a kind of caprice or carelessness on the part of the sculptor, we can hardly apply this explanation to the curious arrangement of the holes. As photographs clearly show, the fastening holes on the centaur's right temple are not placed in a straight line but rather form a line which energetically curves downwards.²⁴ This evidence excludes the possibility that a wreath was fastened to these holes. As we know from the vase painting, a wreath either runs in a line curving *upwards* over the temples or it runs horizontally around the whole cranium.²⁵

Understanding these holes on Eurytion's head as the fastening points for bronze locks works better with the comparanda and the available evidence. First, the fastening holes are located only in those areas of the centaur's balding head where there should have been some hair. (That this area was intended to be covered by hair is also indicated by the slight projection of the marble in these zones.) In addition, the upper rim of the hair of balding silens and satyrs as seen in vase paintings often forms a line identical with that of the fastening holes preserved on Eurytion's head (Fig. 8.7).²⁶ The same is true for painted depictions of bald centaurs (Fig. 8.8).²⁷ Another example is provided by the tondo of a well-known cup in Munich in which every single lock falling on the shoulder and the top of the head of the dying centaur is painted with great care.²⁸ Finally, the best sculptural parallel to Eurytion's head is the head of another balding centaur which may have belonged to a metope of the Parthenon and which was provided with locks of hair made of metal as well (Fig. 8.9).²⁹

In sum, it seems clear that Eurytion, just like the other figures of the west pediment at Olympia, did *not* wear a wreath. Instead, he seems to have been distinguished from the other centaurs by his locks of hair which were made of metal (Fig. 8.10).³⁰



*Fig. 8.8 Centaur on the stamnos by the Kleophrades-P. Tarquinia 711. Photo after G. Ferrari, *I vasi attici a figure rosse del periodo arcaico* (Roma 1988) Pl. XXXVI, 2.*

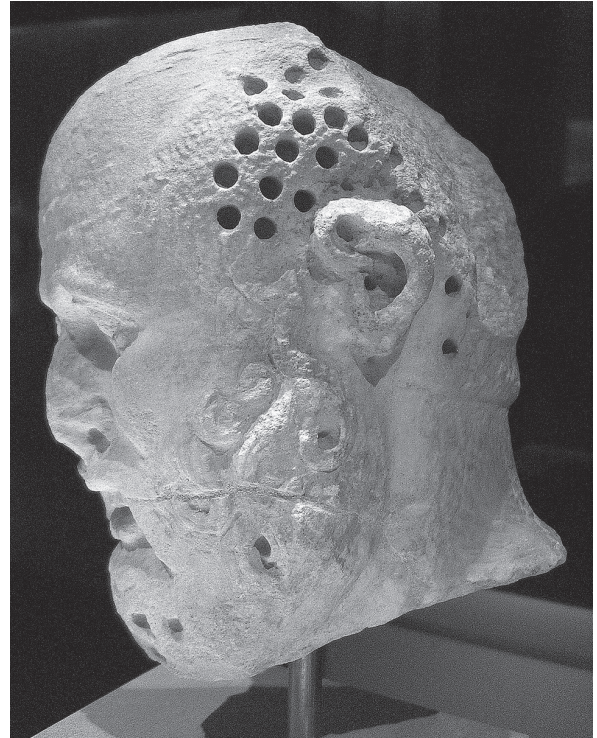


Fig. 8.9 Head of a centaur Athens Acr. Mus. 720. Photo: Author.



Fig. 8.10 Reconstruction of the head in Fig. 8.6. Drawing by K. Nagy.

While crowns and wreaths were added to marble heads in virtually all later periods, but added metal locks seem to be a speciality of late Archaic and early Classical Greek sculpture.³¹ This fact strongly suggests that the addition of these locks were approximately contemporary with the carving of the figure and not a result of later alteration or restoration of the statue.³² This fact deserves to be strongly emphasized, since it is commonly accepted that the supposed crown of Eurytion and other similar metal attachments – such as the helmet and the cuirass of Pelops, which were fastened with holes of the same diameter – were very late additions.³³ Arguments of this type are utterly mistaken. These important metal attachments can be dated, on independent grounds, to the fifth century B.C.³⁴

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Peter Schultz and Ralf von den Hoff for inviting me to the colloquium in Athens around which this volume is based. I would also like to thank Peter Schultz for correcting and improving my English.

Notes

- 1 Stucchi (1988, 85) asserted some twenty years ago: “Le aggiunte di attributi e complementi in bronzo negli originali greci è un fenomeno già noto e ben studiato.” This statement is far too optimistic. Schäfer (1996, 32) describes the state of the evidence more accurately: “Zwar lassen sich in der Literatur eine Reihe von Einzelbeobachtungen zur Bronzeanstückung finden, doch ist die Thematik bislang noch nicht in einem größeren Zusammenhang untersucht worden.” Ridgway’s (1990) short article remains the most detailed and comprehensive discussion of the phenomenon. For scattered references to metal ornament in handbooks on Greek sculpture see, Richter 1929, 146–147; Boardman 1978, 80; Felten 1987, 11; Rolley 1994, 79; and now Palagia 2006 46, 50, 52–3, 55, 59, 63, 65, 81–2, 93, 98, 103–4, 125–6, 128, 130, 132, 134, 137, 166–70, 174, 178, 182, 193–201, 240 no. 40 and 248. My PhD thesis is published now: A. Patay-Horváth, *Metallanstückungen an griechischen Marmorskulpturen in archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen Bd. 4), Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2008.
- 2 Ornaments: the head of a Kore in Basel BS 245 (Boschung 1985, 146–150, fig. 5; Karakasi 2001, 96–98, pl. 86). Leaves and florals: Asklepios Blacas in the British Museum No. 550 (Smith 1892, no. 550; Ashmole 1951, pl. 1–3; Borbein 1988) and the head of Apollo from Prasiai: Apostolopoulou-Kakavojianni 1986, 173–5, pl. 73–74. Radiating rays: the head of Ptolemy III (Jucker 1975, 17–25, pl. 4,1; 5,1; 6,1; Kyrieleis 1975, 33, 168 C6 pl. 22,3–4). Both a wreath and a crown of radiating rays are suggested to have been fastened to a head from Metaponto (no. 314443) in two subsequent phases by Mertens-Horn (2001, 83–85).
- 3 Hair: Beside the numerous examples from the Aigina-pediments (Ohly 1976, pls 37, 54, 110, 112, 142), see:

Athens Akr. 657 (Lange 1882, 193 pl. 9,1; Schuchhardt 1939, 246 no. 324, pl. 152; Wrede 1928, 73, pl. XXIV); Rome Cons. 1536 (Paribeni 1948, 193–196; Fuchs 1966, no. 1692; Ridgway 1970, 58, 74, figs 78–79; Jung 1988, 256); Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 1724 (Poulsen 1951, no. 12; Langlotz 1927, 100); Olympia “Waffenläufer” (Treu 1897, 29–30; Riemann 1947, 13; Bol 1978, 20). Helmets: A restored helmet was proposed by Todisco (1993a, 231–241) in the case of the head from Metaponto referred to above (note 2). Schäfer (1996, 71 n. 172) considered the reconstruction of Dexileos (Athens, Kerameikos P 1130) with a Boiotian helmet more probable than with a wreath. I doubt whether in any of these cases a helmet was added to the stone.

- 4 As in the case of Akr. 2381, which has been identified convincingly as the head of Hera from the east pediment of the Parthenon by comparison with the Baksy crater. See Palagia (1993, 23–24) with bibliography. For earlier, unsuccessful attempts at reconstructing the lost attachments see primarily: Marcadé 1958, 11–47 and Berger 1959, Anhang 2: Zum “Helios” kopf von Marcadé.
- 5 Mitropoulou 1977, 29–30, no. 28, fig. 46 with the complete bibliography published up to that time. For a recent, but incomplete, bibliography see Kaltsas 2001, 88–89, no. 152.
- 6 Hafner 1955, 11–12 and Jung 1988, 254–257.

In addition to the series of nine holes on the head, there is another fastening hole on the relief between the thumb and index finger of the raised right hand, directly in front and above the fillet. Because of its separate location and different dimensions, this fastening hole is worth examining separately. It is theoretically possible that the reconstruction proposed by Hafner (1955, 12) on the basis of parallels with the Marathon boy and others in vase-painting – that the hole fastened the small tongue belonging to the band – might be correct. Schäfer’s (1988, 124 no. 59; 126 no. 126 and 127 no. 73; accepted by Goette 2000, 41–2) suggestion that the hole held a tettix holding the ribbon together is also possible.

However, evidence for another fastening hole, on the oblique break running directly behind the head, exists. (Schäfer [1998, 123] doubted its presence although it is clearly visible in photographs from Kaltsas [2001, 88] or Jung [1988, 255] Similar remains of a fastening hole can be seen on the broken edge of the diskos from Melos [Karouzos 1951, 96 fig. 5, pl. 37; Kaltsas 2001, 87, no. 151]). While this hole cannot be connected to the holes for the locks, it might be related to the fastening hole situated in front of the forehead, simply because of its location roughly at the height of the band. It is very possible that both holes were used to attach a wreath; two holes would be sufficient for such an attachment. (Jung [1988, 257] leaves the question undecided, whether there was a wreath on the head of the young or if he just held the tongue of the fillet between his thumb and his index finger). As a parallel, we might mention the relief from Dikaia. Here we can see two fastening holes in a similar position (Langlotz 1927, pl. 72 b; Karusu 1969, 33; Kaltsas 2001, 74, no. 109 with bibliography). The only difference between the two is the fastening hole above the middle of the ribbon. Such a hole would be unnecessary in case of the Sounion stele because the applied locks would have provided the necessary support for the wreath. The same applies for the case of Theseus in the pediment from the temple of Apollo

at Eretria. There, few holes were used to hold the wreath because adequate support already existed (Touloupa 2002, 14, cat. I. 1, fig. 4–5). A later example for fastening a wreath with only two attachment holes is the Ilissos stele. (This relief was already cited as an example for reconstructing a wreath on the Sounion relief by Jung 1988, 255 n. 27; see also Kaltsas 2001, 193–4, no. 382).

The old reconstruction of the relief with a wreath in this position is very likely correct. This reconstruction, however, was based on a misunderstanding: the holes considered to be the fastening points for the wreath were in fact holding locks of metal hair while the wreath was fastened by other holes. By this reading, the relief actually depicted a youth either crowning himself with a wreath, just removing it or, most probably, simply adjusting it (The gesture is repeated in the case of one of the elderly men on the north frieze of the Parthenon (N 38), the difference being that he is touching his head with both hands; see Brommer [1977, 33]; Berger and Gisler-Huwyler [1996, 68–9]; and Boardman [1999, 325]).

7 Stais 1916, 77; Karo 1916, 143; Stais 1917, 204–206; Studniczka 1921, 327.

8 Seltman 1924, 68–69.

9 Picard 1940, 24; Robertson 1975, 177–78; Rolley 1994, 358; Schäfer 1998, 134–138: takes it off. Neumann 1965, 84–85 avoids this alternative, saying, that the only point can be the touching of the forehead (cf. Servius ad Aen. 3,607: *venerantes deum tangimus frontem*).

10 Schäfer (1998, 114–118) suggested that the figure could have held a *dikella* in his left hand. In this case he could be a long-jumper. The hypothesis depends on whether the handle of a *dikella* was ever visible on the fragment. The handle is not discernable in its present condition, as Schäfer admits. On earlier photographs it is not clearly visible either. The stele was originally interpreted as a tomb-relief which had been dragged away from its original place by looters; afterwards it was almost universally considered to be a votive relief (e.g. Picard 1940, 22–23; Lullies 1979 fig. 82; Schäfer 1998, 111–112). Ridgway (1970, 49) returned once more to the funerary interpretation; she assumed that it could have been the tombstone of a foreigner who had passed away in Attica and who had put up a gravestone contrary to Athenian custom.

The only other debate that surrounds the piece regards the date of the relief. Robertson (1975, 177–78) argued that the sanctuary was sacked by the Persians in 480 B.C., and that it was not rebuilt for a long time. For this reason, he believed that the relief should have been carved before 480 B.C. However, a date of ca. 470–460 is now commonly accepted on stylistic grounds (Fuchs 1993, 508, fig. 592; Boardman 1985, 66, fig. 40; Rolley 1994, fig. 374; Kaltsas 2001, 89).

11 According to Schäfer's (1998: 123) convincing explanation these few locks were perhaps left hanging free like real locks of hair, and therefore it seemed worth while to carve the surface of the marble which was partly visible below the metal locks.

12 Best visible Kaltsas 2001, 88.

13 Haffner 1955, 11–12.

14 See the examples cited in notes 2 and 5.

15 This was doubted by Jung (1988, 256) who suggested a reconstruction with not long but short locks, similar to the ones on the Delphoi Charioteer. His main argument is that the roughly worked out hair above the forehead had to be

visible in any case and therefore had to be intentional, and as a consequence the roughly worked out parts of the hair provided with fastening holes were intended to be visible, is without any basis, since the unmodelledness of the small area could have been hidden easily by a wreath or paint. Therefore it is quite reasonable remain at the most obvious solution, and to complete the relief with long locks. A similar argument is already formulated by Schäfer (1998, 122 n. 54).

16 This is made particularly clear by numerous figures from the pediments from the temple of Aphaia on Aegina and many other pieces of sculpture. Aegina pediments: Ohly 1976, pls 37, 54, 110, 112, 142. Other occurrences of applied locks of hair: see above note 3.

17 LaRocca 1985, 27–32.

18 Simon 1998, 119.

19 This procedure was generally applied only at the edge of the hair, either above the forehead, at the temples, or near the nape of the head, in short, on the edge of the hair.

20 Oakley 2001, pl. 39; Neils and Oakley 2003, 299–300. cat. no. 114; Cup by Aristophanes Berlin 2531 (ARV² 1318,1): Boardman 1989, fig. 289.1.

21 See, for example, Stucchi 1954, 112 and Herrmann 1972, 134.

22 Treu 1897, 73.

23 See e.g. Malthake on the grave relief in New York (MET 11–100.2; Richter 1954, no. 83, Pl. LXVII–LXVIII) or the Apollo from the Parthenon frieze (Brommer 1977, pl. 182).

24 Hege and Rodenwaldt 1936, pl. 50, 52; Ashmole and Yalouris 1967, pl. 110–111.

25 E.g. Boston MFA 10. 178 (Beazley 1918, fig. 24) There are several examples for this arrangement of the wreath on balding satyrs. See e.g. Onesimos: Boston MFA 10.179, Aleria 61.35, Slg. Kropatschek (nice illustrations in Sparkes 1985, pl. 19, 24, 26.), and of course it is the rule for the balding centaurs wearing wreaths as well: kylix of the H-P. Painter in Basel BS 489 (ARV² 454; LIMC VIII s.v. Kentauroi no. 262.)

26 Harrow 55, Boston MFA 98.882, 10. 179 (Beazley 1918, Fig. 24 bis, 37, 50 bis), several kylikes by Onesimos (see previous note), Makron (Kunisch 1997, nos 159, 305, 340, 345, 507 pl. 56, 104, 114, 116, 163); Duris (Buitron-Oliver 1995, nos 186, 232, 244) the stamnos of the Berlin Painter at Castle Ashby ARV² 208,145 (Beazley 1974a, Pl. 17,3), and the amphora of the Kleophrades Painter St.Petersburg 609, ARV² 184,19 (Beazley 1974b, Pl. 21); and the kylix of the Telephos Painter Boston MFA 95.30 ARV² 819,44; Boardman 1975, fig. 380.

27 Kylix of the Foundry Painter (München 2641; ARV² 402,21); two stamnoi by the Kleophrades Painter: Louvre G 55 (ARV² 187, 58) and Tarquinia 711 (ARV² 187, 59). For illustrations see Beazley 1974b, pl. 22,1–3 and 24–25; LIMC VIII s.v. Kentauroi no. 186, 190.

28 Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2640 by the Foundry Painter: ARV² 402,22; LIMC VIII s.v. Kentauroi No. 175: Theseus gives the last thrust to a centaur lying on the ground. Simon 1976, Abb. 157.

29 Rodenwaldt 1948, 10–12, pl. 5–6; Brommer 1967, 89 pl. 195.

30 As at Aegina. For the preserved leaden locks of hair at Aegina see Ohly 1976, 77, fig. 70. Only the relatively large distance between the holes might provide a basis for questioning this reconstruction with metal locks of hair.

However, it is important to remember that there are some cases in Aeginetan sculpture (for example, the Athena of the east pediment: Ohly 1976, 20, fig. 7–10; the Paris from the west pediment: Ohly 1976, pl. 141; the Tête Vogué: Hamiaux 1992, 104–5) where the fastening points for metal hair are quite far apart.

- 31 This phenomenon was already observed by Ridgway (1977, 323). Later examples are few and, like the “Athena Carpegna” (Rome, Mus. Naz. Terme 55051: von Steuben 1969, no. 2263; Candilio 1979, 220–222, no. 138), are based on copies of classical types. Crowns: See n. 2 above. The following examples also deserve mention: head of a warrior from Aigina (Athens NM 1933: Walter-Karydi 1987, 77, no. 34, pl. 28; Kaltsas 2001, 79, no. 128); Apollon and rider W2 on the Parthenon frieze (Brommer 1977, 4 and 119); Laborde-head (Palagia 1993, 24–25; Hamiaux 1992, 136–7; Rolley 1994, 76, fig. 89); the Aberdeen-head

(Smith 1892, no. 1600); Meleagros and the “Donator” from Kalydon (Bol 1988, 37, pl. 27 a–b and 41 pl. 32 a–b); Helios (Venezia Inv. 245; Traversari 1986, 110, no. 36); the head of Apollo by Damophon (Messene 245; Despinis 1966, 379; Themelis 1993, 26–7, pl. 4); Domitianus in Munich (Furtwängler and Wolters 1910, no. 394; Daltrop *et al.* 1966, 32, 41, 102 and pls. 23a, 25 c–d).

- 32 If anybody had wanted to add locks of hair to the head in a later period, he most probably would have carved it from the marble, which is left in considerable amount on the temples, and would have been sufficient for such a purpose. On repairs to the pedimental sculpture at Olympia see Symeonoglou (1988 and 2001) with Patay-Horváth 2004.
- 33 Stucchi 1954, 112.
- 34 For Pelops see Patay-Horváth 2006.

III. MYTH AND NARRATIVE

Herakles, Theseus and the Athenian Treasury at Delphi

Ralf von den Hoff

The themes and designs of figural architectural sculpture that adorned the public buildings of Archaic and Classical Greece were not chosen incidentally. Rather, they were the results of deliberate decisions taken by the buildings' patrons and sculptors.¹ Our lack of testimonia usually results in doubts concerning the decisive principles for these choices. For instance, we still do not understand the choice – let alone the intended message – of the themes used for the pediments and metopes of the temple of Zeus in Olympia or the pediments of the temple of Aphaia on Aegina, as recent discussions show.² At the same time, it is also obvious that the architectural sculpture of a prominent building set up by a political or religious community can provide relevant information about dominant cultural interests as well as a view into the social, economic and political constitution of the community in question.

The treasury set up by the Athenians in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi is such a building (Figs 9.1–2).³ Situated in one of the most renowned panhellenic sanctuaries, all native and international visitors heading from the sanctuary's entrance to Apollo's temple were required to pass the small marble monument. Erected at an important turn of the Sacred Way, all eyes were immediately directed to both the building's south wall crowned by a series of sculpted metopes and to the long pedestal in front of the treasury that carried dedications made by the Athenians from the spoils of their victory over the Persians at Marathon in 490. The Athenian treasury was a building of many firsts. It was the first building dedicated by the Athenians in a panhellenic sanctuary, it was the first building dedicated abroad by the Athenians after the end of the Peisistratid tyranny and after Kleisthenes' reforms. And in the metopes of the Athenian treasury, Theseus – Athens' polis-hero well established as a prominent figure of sixth-century Athenian vase-painting – first appears in architectural sculpture.

While this much is clear, there remains a great deal regarding the treasury and its sculpture that is still under discussion. It is open, for example, *when* between 510 and 490/80 the treasury was set up. It also remains unclear what role and relevance Theseus played in the treasury's sculpture when it was presented to a broader audience on Delphi's 'international' stage.

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss some possible answers to these questions.

As far as the Athenian treasury's date is concerned, many scholars now accept a date shortly after the battle of Marathon in 490. This is due to Pausanias' *dictum* that the Athenians dedicated the treasury "from those spoils taken from the army that landed with Datis at Marathon" (10.11.5). For Pausanias, the Athenian treasury was a victory monument set up together with the Marathon-pedestal in front of its south wall. Certainly, this pedestal and its unmistakable inscription give sufficient reason to relate the treasury to Marathon. Indeed, the dedicatory inscription on the pedestal should be understood as the dedicatory inscription of both pedestal and treasury; it is obvious that this was the intention when the Marathon-pedestal was set up. But was this pedestal built together with the treasury or was it attached afterwards?

The late Archaic style of the treasury's architectural sculpture (Fig. 9.3) could point to an earlier, pre-Marathon date around 500. This line of reasoning has been stressed by German scholars. Others, however, have taken a middle position, arguing that construction of the treasury started well before 490 but was finished after Marathon. It also seems clear that the painting of the treasury walls went on well into 480s.⁴ A convincing solution for the endless discussions regarding the chronology of the building would be of great relevance. It is quite important to know whether the Athenians internationally propagated the image of their polis-hero immediately after Kleisthenes'



Fig. 9.1 Athenian treasury from the east. Delphi, Sanctuary of Apollon. Photo: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Freiburg: Photosammlung.

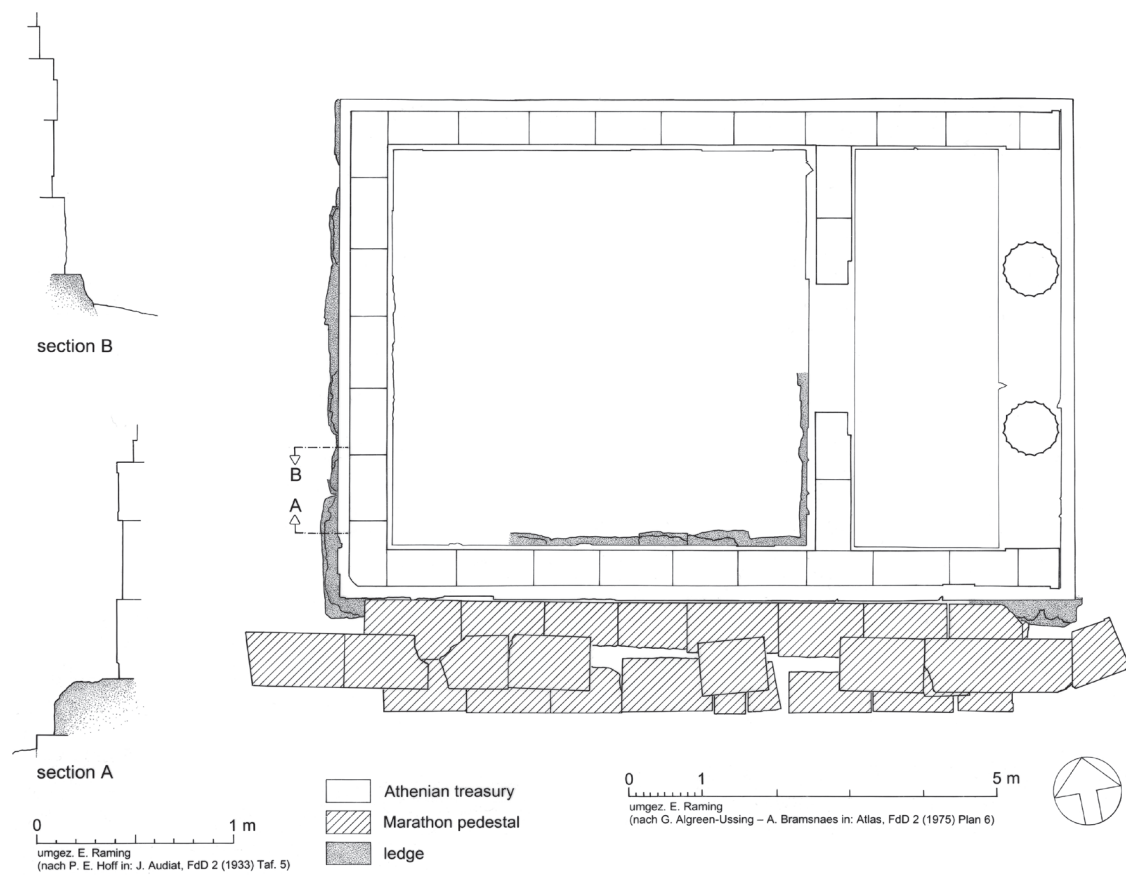


Fig. 9.2 Athenian treasury. Delphi, Sanctuary of Apollo. Drawing: Elsbeth Raming.

reforms (as a response to new *intra-polis* state of affairs) or in the years after Marathon (in which case the image of Theseus would need to be understood within the context of growing Athenian *inter-polis* prestige).

Recently, Vinzenz Brinkmann and Richard Neer have preferred a date after 490 for the construction of the building; their arguments are based on new evidence concerning the relation between Marathon-monument and treasury provided by Paul Amandry.⁵ But the old and new arguments that connect the treasury and the Marathon-pedestal are not without problems. Amandry has rightly pointed out that the lowest layer of the treasury's southern foundation projects around 25–30cm to the south and that the foundation of the Marathon-pedestal on the same side of the treasury was supported by this ledge (Figs 9.1–2). This has been taken as decisive evidence for a deep connection between both structures which, in turn, points to a similar date for both monuments.⁶ But as Klaus Fittschen has correctly remarked Amandry did not note that this ledge can also be observed below the southern part of the west wall of the treasury, where its width decreases to the north (Fig. 9.2: section A and B). One could also add that the same ledge can also be found on the inner side of the south wall, where no superstructure was supported.⁷ With this in mind, it is quite unlikely that the ledge was built to support the Marathon-pedestal. Rather, it should probably be understood as serving as an especially wide foundation level to stabilize the building in this sloping terrain.⁸ The architectural evidence from the foundations of the treasury does not support a late date for the building.

Naturally, this brings us back to style. Since the style of the metopes points to a date well before 490, it seems reasonable to suppose that the Athenians initiated construction of their splendid marble treasury at Delphi in the decade *after* the revolutionary political reforms under Kleisthenes and *after* the first important victory for their newly organized hoplite forces in 507/6.⁹ At that time the Athenians also began rebuilding the temples to Athena on the Acropolis.¹⁰ In short, this decade was a period of growing self-confidence which immediately found expression on the panhellenic stage, even though (or better, *because*) the international prestige of Athens had not yet reached its zenith.

The image of Theseus on the treasury's metopes was a means of projecting Athenian prowess onto the international stage. But he was not the only figure shown on the metopes. Herakles was the other main character. Herakles, of course, was the most renowned panhellenic hero and the most dominant figure of myth in sixth century Greek art. While Theseus was Athens' most admired local hero of the sixth century and, after Herakles, was the second most popular mythological figure of sixth-century Athenian vase-painting, his image was fairly rare in non-Athenian art.¹¹ As Richard Neer has recently stressed, the decoration of the Athenian treasury juxtaposes the Athenian and the Panhellenic hero in order to highlight Athens' claim to a special relationship to both.¹²

But how did the Athenians present their polis-hero to a broad panhellenic audience? How was his image related to that of Herakles? To answer these questions, the positions of the heroes' images and deeds on the building are crucial. They are controversial.

While the pedimental sculpture of the treasury is almost completely lost (except for fragments and a head probably representing Athena herself) the relief metopes provide the most important data.¹³ Let us review what we know about the metopes and their position on the building.¹⁴ Reliefs of four different themes are preserved: single deeds of Herakles, single deeds of Theseus, an Amazonomachy and Herakles with the cattle of Geryon. Since the metopes were not preserved *in situ* and since most of them were not found near to the building, it is unclear how these themes were distributed among the four sides of the treasury.¹⁵ Metope 26 (with Geryon's dead dog) was found in front of the treasury's west wall. Thus, the reliefs depicting Herakles and the cattle of Geryon should belong to this side of the building. Due to its findspot, metope 21 (with Herakles and Kyknos) belongs either to the north or to the east side. All other metope positions are open to debate.¹⁶ The architecture provides space for 6 metopes in the west and east and 9 in the north and south sides of the treasury. The *communis opinio*, established by de la Coste-Messelière, gives Herakles the west and north sides, Theseus the south side and both heroes (or perhaps only Theseus) the Amazonomachy on the east side. Klaus Hoffelner challenged this solution in 1988 with little effect.¹⁷ Nevertheless, most of Hoffelner's arguments can be supported and confirmed; Theseus' deeds in the south seems a likely solution.¹⁸ Seven metopes depict this hero with certainty (metopes 1–7): too much for one of the smaller sides. Since Athena appears only in the Theseus cycle (metope 5; Figs 9.3–4), we should not hesitate to position this series on the prominent south side rather than on the hidden north side of the treasury.

What about the remaining north and east sides? We have a minimum of 6 metopes depicting Amazons (9–14), even if we do not count metopes 8 and 22. Metope 22 is often taken as an image of Theseus fighting an Amazon (even though this is far from obvious) while metope 8 could depict Herakles and an Amazon.¹⁹ These two metopes could belong to other sides of the building as parts of cycles of deeds in single images. On two other metopes (28–29) only one generic, male fighter is preserved. Regarding the treasury's known themes, these two male fighters only fit the Amazonomachy and should probably belong to this series, too. This makes a minimum of 8 reliefs altogether, too much for the small east side.²⁰ On the other hand, only four metopes depict Herakles with certainty (15, 16, 19, 21), while it remains open if he appeared in two other metopes (17, 18). There is no indication of his presence on metope 20 which preserves only a single, standing warrior. The fewer number of Herakles' deeds is an additional argument in favor of the idea that there were less Herakles scenes than scenes with Amazons, that is: that his deeds covered a shorter



Fig. 9.3 Athena and Theseus. Metope 5 of the Athenian treasury in Delphi. Marble. Delphi, Museum. Photo: G. Hellner; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen Neg. Nr. D-DAI-ATH-281/294.

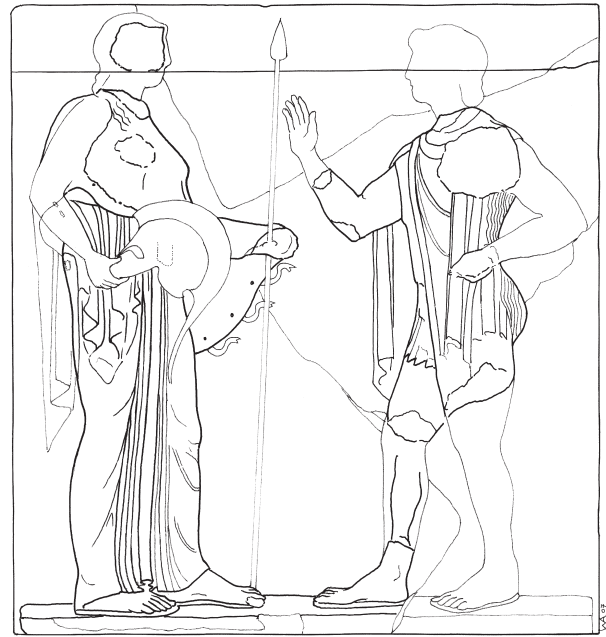


Fig. 9.4 Athena and Theseus. Metope 5 of the Athenian treasury in Delphi (drawing). Marble. Delphi, Museum. Drawing with reconstruction: Wulfhild Aulmann / Ralf von den Hoff.

side of the treasury than the Amazonomachy. Hence, it is highly probable that the Amazonomachy belongs to the longer north side and Herakles' deeds to the east, as Hoffelner suggested.

This new arrangement is important. To begin, the Amazonomachy has lost its prominent position above the treasury's entrance.²¹ Rather, Herakles appears at the front (with Athena above him in the pediment), which is *de iure* the most prominent part of the building, while Theseus occupies *de facto* the most prominent position in the south: he was first seen by visitors approaching from the sanctuary's entrance. His images on the south side also outnumber those of Herakles' deeds in the east, while Herakles occupies the complete west side of the treasury.²² This even split between both heroes is much more understandable than banishing Herakles to the virtually invisible north and west sides, as does the traditional reconstruction.

With regards to the viewing of the images, a sequence of metopes with single fights had to be looked at and "read" independently, one after the other. Consequently, with the new reconstruction in mind, these sequences were displayed on those sides of the treasury which visitors would approach by walking.²³ A single story covering a group of metopes – like the Amazonomachy or the cattle of Geryon – would be understandable at a glance and, thus, appeared on the north and west side; these sides could not be walked along nor seen very well.²⁴ If this is true, then the metopes were well arranged with regard to the intended reception by viewers. The narrative and hierarchy of themes was perfectly positioned. Altogether,

the presence and prominence of Theseus and Herakles was kept in a balance.

The arrangement of the metopes is one important factor in the presentation of Theseus and Herakles in Delphi. The choice of deeds is another. The cycle of Theseus' deeds, as presented on the Athenian treasury, had been introduced into Attic vase-painting around 520/10.²⁵ The metopes were the first appearance of this cycle outside Attic vase-painting. Hence, most of Theseus' metopes follow common and well known iconographic patterns established before the treasury was built. This is true for Theseus fights against monsters, animals and human robbers like Sinis (Metope 1), Kerkyon (3), the Marathon Bull (6) and the Minotaur (7).²⁶ The identities of Theseus' opponents in metopes 2 and 4 are unclear, but can be fixed by context and typology. Neither of them can be Skiron, because, throughout the early fifth century, Theseus takes this villain's foot to throw him down a rocky cliff.²⁷ If, instead, he kills this opponent with Skiron's basin (there is only one known version of this type before 460 on a lekythos in Berlin)²⁸ he never uses both hands to strike like the Theseus on metope 2. Additionally, Skiron is never grasped by his beard nor is he shown close to ground as is the enemy on metope 4.²⁹ What remains, then, for metope 2 and 4 are Periphetes and Prokrustes. Metope 2 very much resembles a lekythos in Athens, depicting the fight between Theseus and Prokrustes with the typical hammer, even though Theseus' aggressive 'Harmodios blow' is very unusual in late sixth-century images of the Athenian hero.³⁰ Thus, metope 2 should depict Theseus and Prokrustes.³¹ Consequently, metope 4 can only show

the last remaining villain-slaying episode: the death of Periphetes. This is astonishing because Periphetes almost never appears in vase-painting cycles of Theseus' adventures and when it does, it does not show up before around 470/60.³² Hence, the Athenians have chosen an innovative theme for this metope. The reason seems to be obvious: In the mythic tale, Theseus used his club against Periphetes. This made him similar to Herakles, his *pendant* in the treasury's metopes.

There is only one metope with a calm scene. This metope's iconography is also innovative. On metope 5 (Figs 9.3–4) Athena stands in front of Theseus. The hero lifts up his right hand in a gesture of praying, thus accepting the goddess's will. Such a scene is unknown on Attic vases at the time. A scene of this sort first appears later on the red-figured cup by the Briseis painter around 480.³³ The motif of goddess and hero on the metope 5 was adopted from Herakles in vase-paintings of the sixth century, where he very often appears together with Athena. The metope of the Athenian Treasury is the first example of such a Theseus scene.³⁴ This aims at presenting Athens' polis-hero as deeply related to Athens' polis-goddess; that is, as a distinctly *Athenian* hero, an honor that had hitherto been reserved for Herakles. (In this context, it is interesting that the juxtaposition of Herakles and Athena – which took place so often in contemporary Athenian vase-painting – was avoided in the public images of the Treasury at Delphi. Here, it seems, this form of representation is reserved for Theseus.)

Since the first publication of the metopes, it has been taken for granted that Athena wore a Corinthian helmet, that she held a spear in her left hand and that she stretched out her (empty?) right hand towards Theseus (Fig. 9.3).³⁵ The meaning of this particular gesture remains unclear. So far, no explanation has been given for the wide dowel(?) hole in front of Athena below the border of the aegis. This hole is both too large for fixing an attached element of the goddess's peplos and is in the wrong position to serve as fixing point for an attached gorgon.³⁶ But was Athena indeed wearing her helmet? If this was the case, as de la Coste-Messelière argued, one would expect remnants of its crest at her neck; none can be found.³⁷ It is far more probable that Athena kept the helmet in her right hand (Fig. 9.4) as she does very often in vase-paintings of this period.³⁸ The hole towards her front, not explained in previous reconstructions, strongly favors this reconstruction. The right hand, attached together with Athena's right arm, must have held a large attribute fixed in this hole. That this was indeed a helmet, as Ingrid Kasper-Butz argued recently, is made probable by contemporary vase-paintings.³⁹ Norbert Kunisch has explained the motif of Athena holding the helmet in her hand in front of a hero as signs of the goddess's epiphany, that is: of her imagined and real protective appearance. This protective aspect would have been emphasised by Athena's spear which may have been painted and kept in her left hand.⁴⁰ The metope not only would have demonstrated the close relation between Theseus and

Athens' polis-goddess, but would have also evoked the real, divine presence of Athena, thus enhancing Theseus' prestige as favored and protected hero.

Six of Theseus' deeds can be identified with high probability. Metope 5 adds the meeting with Athena, but this leaves 2 metopes to fill with other deeds of Theseus in order to fill the nine metopes of the treasury's south side. In the late sixth and early fifth century, depictions of Theseus cycles in vase-painting almost canonically include the slaying of the sow at Kromyon and of Skiron. Both could have been depicted in missing southern metopes, as Hoffelner suggested.⁴¹ This would leave no further space for a single image of Theseus' Amazonomachy (perhaps metope 8), which consequently should belong to the northern metopes, but this remains conjectural.⁴² Even though many questions and the precise sequence of the metopes remain open, the overall intention is obvious: The Athenians sought to show as many fights of Theseus as possible, thus emphasizing his boundless energy all the while making him equal to Herakles.⁴³

To sum up, the Athenians erected a marvelous marble treasury in Apollo's sanctuary in Delphi around 500 after their fundamental political reforms and after the first success of their newly built hoplite-citizen army. They thereby expressed their growing political self-confidence by claiming visual presence in this panhellenic realm laying claim to elevated panhellenic status. As far as the treasury's architectural sculpture is concerned, this expression was staged by combining distinctively Athenian images alongside images that could be considered truly panhellenic. Theseus, Athens' polis-hero, was newly introduced to Delphi's panhellenic audience as a restless fighter under divine protection, as embodies proof of ideals and values that the Athenian claimed for themselves.

Herakles was presented as a comparably active hero, who was also related to Athens, thus linking Athenian identity to traditional and common panhellenic ideals. The pairing of both heroes "elevates Theseus to the level of a Panhellenic hero" and "by the same token it Atticizes Herakles".⁴⁴ Moreover, the Athenian treasury demonstrates that the claim of an Athens-Herakles connection was not the consequence of this hero's support against Persia at Marathon, but rather was older and thus gave reason to postulate this protection in 490.⁴⁵ Apart from this, no meaningful relationship should be seen between the depiction of the (possibly Attic) Amazonomachy in the treasury's metopes and the conflicts with the Persians.

Balance between these two heroes was critical. On the one hand, the balance between Herakles and Theseus was kept decisively: Athenian Theseus was seen first by every visitor approaching the treasury, while the Greek Herakles dominated the entrance door. On the other hand, Theseus' prestige was enhanced by Athena's epiphany before him, not Herakles, by the sheer number of visible deeds and by explicit visual links to Herakles, such as the club he uses in the fight against Periphetes. The architectural sculpture of the Athenian treasury, thus supports an Athenian agenda to position Athens in both a broadly Greek and local

context. This was not achieved by ignoring panhellenic and traditional ideals – which Herakles clearly embodied – but rather by combining and seeing these values with and through specific Athenian topoi. In a panhellenic context, Athens would appear as both deeply Greek *and* as deeply Athenian; as equal to all Greeks gathering in Delphi *and* as distinct from all others: a circumspect integration of new and old claims and interests.

If we look forward from the Athenian treasury to the Hephaisteion in mid-fifth century Athens herself, we find again the juxtaposition of Herakles and Theseus in architectural sculpture (Barringer figs 3–5).⁴⁶ Like the Athenian treasury, the temple was visually dominated by Herakles who appears on the ten front metopes of the building's east side. Theseus occupies each of the four eastern metopes of the north and south sides of the building. Even though the Hephaisteion metopes were not made for an audience in a panhellenic sanctuary, both the balance between the two heroes and a contextual preference for Herakles are still obvious. Maybe even more so. In contrast to the Athenian treasury, it is Herakles – not Theseus – who has Athena as his companion (Hephaisteion metope 10) and it is Herakles who appears more often (on 10 metopes versus the 8 metopes that show Theseus). Metope 2 provides a further new aspect (Fig. 9.5; Barringer figs 3 and 5). Here, Herakles and Iolaos fight the Lernean hydra together. This is an old theme of attic vase-painting.⁴⁷ Even though we do not know how exactly the fight with the Hydra was represented, the parallel motion of both fighters is obvious, distinctive

and well known.⁴⁸ Even though the motion of the arms possibly was not identical, it is the dual pose of the Tyrannicides which could be seen below in the Agora (Fig. 9.6; Barringer fig. 15).⁴⁹ Although I am sceptical whether the use of Harmodios' or Aristogeiton's iconography was always meant to link the depicted figure to the tyrant-slayers,⁵⁰ in this particular context – so near the famous statue group on the Agora – two heroes moving like Harmodios and Aristogeiton must have appeared as paradigmatic fighters for democracy. A similar motif appears in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (ll. 631–2) where fighting side by side with Aristogeiton's statue (i.e. in the guise of Harmodios) is a clear sign of democratic habit.⁵¹ (In the later fifth century, the friezes of the Hephaisteion also show examples the Tyrannicide poses for figures of myth other than Herakles, possibly also for Theseus, but this is another topic.⁵²) What is of interest here is that the Hephaisteion metopes, created in the time of Perikles, demonstrate the continuing prominence of Herakles in Athenian architectural sculpture. At that time, Herakles was not replaced by Theseus, the supposed 'democratic hero'. Rather, the old panhellenic hero is integrated into a new, visual culture of democratic Athens by making him a figure of cooperative fighting quite comparable to the Athenian tyrannicides. He is indeed Atticized and even 'democratized'. His panhellenic connection (when compared to the Athenian Theseus) and his embodied joining of local and panhellenic ideals seem to have been of remarkable and remaining importance for Athenian self-definition in public architectural sculpture even in during the Periclean age. This had been true a generation before, when Theseus was first juxtaposed with Herakles and first introduced to the the panhellenic public in the metopes of the Athenian treasury in Delphi.

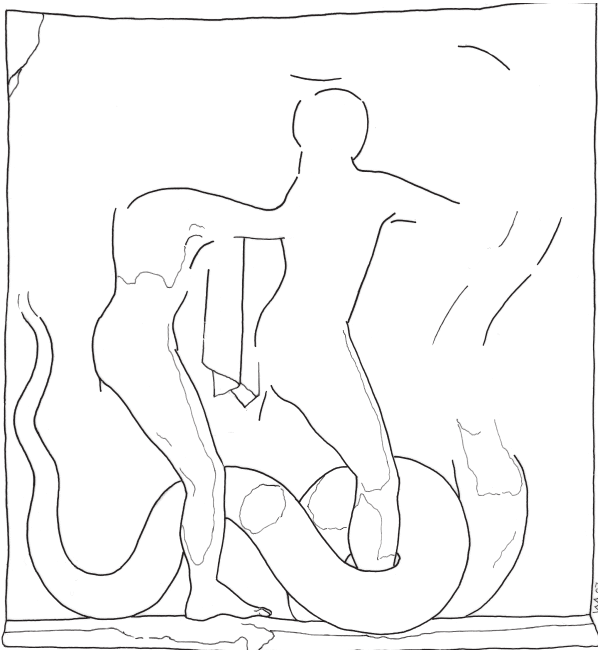


Fig. 9.5 Herakles and Iolaos fighting the Lernean hydra. East Metope 2 of the Hephaisteion in Athens (drawing). Marble. Athens, Hephaisteion. Drawing: Wulfhild Aulmann.



Fig. 9.6 Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Attic red-figured oinochoe. Late fifth century B.C. Boston, Museum of fine Arts 98.936. Photo: after *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 85, 1970, 105 fig. 7.

Acknowledgements

I own many thanks to the Freiburg Institute's technical draughtswomen Wulfhild Aulmann for Figs 9.4 and 9.5 and Elsbeth Raming for Fig. 9.2. Thanks go also to my friend Peter Schultz for improving my (still too bad) English, even though all remainings mistakes are mine. This paper, which is a result of Theseus studies of the last years, should be read in tandem with my article "Media for Theseus or: the different images of the Athenian polis-hero" in a volume on "Spinning time – intentional history", edited by Lin Foxhall and Nino Luraghi (in print), where Theseus' appearance in Attic public architectural sculpture of the late sixth through fifth century B.C. is studied in relation to the hero's image in Attic vase-painting of the same period.

Notes

- 1 Knell 1990, XI; Buitron-Oliver 1997, 9; Ridgway 1999, 143–219; see also Hölscher in this volume.
- 2 Olympia: Tersini 1987; Knell 1990, 79–94; Pimpinelli 1993; Cohen 1994; Osborne 1994c; Sinn 1994; Rhodes 1995, 93–104; Kyrieleis 1997; Tulunay 1998; Ridgway 1999, 142–3; 153–4; Osborne 2000; Heiden 2003; Barringer 2005; Junker 2005. Aegina: Knell 1990, 68–78; Sinn 1987; Ridgway 1999, 90–91; Brinkmann 2002, 275–278. Cf. also Woodford 2003, 215–237. See also Hölscher, Westervelt and Barringer in this volume.
- 3 Audiat 1933; de la Coste-Messelière 1957; Gauer 1968, 45–65; Boardman 1982, 2–4; 9–15; Floren 1987, 247–250 (with further bibliography); Knell 1990, 52–63; Stewart 1990, 132 fig. 211–7; Büsing 1992; Bankel 1993, 169–70; Bommelaer 1991, 133–38 (also for the Marathon monument); Ridgway 1993, 343–6; Amandry 1998 (also for the Marathon monument); Jacquemin 1999, 315–6 no. 077 (Marathon monument); no. 086 (with further bibliography); Rausch 1999, 92–106; 129–132; Ridgway 1999, 88–9; Patrída 2000, 48–70; Neer 2004 (with further bibliography); Servadei 2005, 35–36 n. 69; 81; 209.
- 4 Style before 490: Alscher 1961, 234–6 n. 117; Kleine 1973, 94–7. Architecture before 490: Dinsmoor 1946; Bankel 1993, 169–70 (but see below). For the different suggestions regarding the date see listings in Dinsmoor 1946, 87 n. 2; Brommer 1982, 68 n. 8 and the bibliography in the n. before and in the next n.). To take only the German positions: Gauer 1968, 51–65 (after 490); Gauer 1980, 128 (started after 499); Brommer 1982, 68 with n. 8 (510/00); Floren 1987, 247 (around/shortly before 500); Martini 1990, 249–50 (shortly before 500); Büsing 1992 (after 490; painted decoration finished even later); Bankel 1993, 169–70 (started before 490, finished afterwards); Rausch 1999, 129–132 (around 500); Brinkmann 2002, 354 (after 490); Fittschen 2003 (before 490).
- 5 Amandry 1998; Brinkmann 2002; Neer 2002, 197–8; Neer 2004, 67; 72–4.
- 6 Amandry 1998, 87 fig. 7; cf. Ridgway 1993, 342.
- 7 Fittschen 2003, 13–14; the ledges are visible in Audiat 1930, pl. 15–6; Audiat 1933, pl. 1; 5 ("coupe α - β ", " γ - δ "); Hansen 1975, pl. 6 and in Amandry 1998, fig. 7; cf. also Giese 1995, 275 n. 20. Fig. 9.2 has been redrawn from Audiat and Hansen, even though the published plans and sections differ in some details. A new examination of the situation would be necessary to create an exact plan as basis for a final solution of the question.
- 8 This would also explain that the ledge becomes smaller to the north on the treasury's west side.
- 9 Additionally, the quality of the metopes of the treasury makes it quite improbable that sculptors of such skill would have worked still in the a late-archaic style between 490 and 480.
- 10 For building activities on the Acropolis see Korres 1993; Korres 1997, 218–43; cf. Hurwit 1998, 121–136; Holtzmann 2003, 82–87.
- 11 For surveys of Theseus images see Neils 1987; Shapiro 1989, 145–6; Kreuzer 2003; Servadei 2005; for the sixth century now also Kreuzer 2005; L'Homme-Wéry 2006; von den Hoff forthcoming. A media-focussed approach to images of the slaying of the Minotaur is now provided by Muth 2004. For Theseus and Athens see also: Walker 1995; Calame 1996; Mills 1997; Luce 1998.
- 12 Neer 2004, 74–7; cf. Hölscher 1998, 160.
- 13 For the pedimental sculpture: de la Coste-Messelière 1923, 388–96 pl. 14–5; de la Coste-Messelière 1957, 167–81 pl. 77–85 (Athena: 170–1 no. 45 pl. 79–81); Delivorrias 1974, 181–2; Floren 1987, 248–9; Knell 1990, 52 fig. 79; Martini 1990, 248; Ridgway 1999, 88–9.
- 14 See de la Coste-Messelière 1957; Ridgway 1977, 236–8; Boardman 1978, 159–60 fig. 213; Schefold 1978, 165–168; Gauer 1980; Brommer 1982, 68–9 pl. 1–4 a; Demargne 1984, 1012 no. 596 pl. 762; Hoffelner 1988; Boardman *et al.* 1990, 7 no. 1703 fig.; Knell 1990, 52–63; Stewart 1990, 132 fig. 211–7; Marcadé and Croissant 1991, 57–60; Froning 1992, 135–8 fig. 6–8; Woodford 1992, 576 no. 26 pl. 320; Maas 1993, 168–75; Neils 1994, 928 no. 54 pl. 633–4; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 146–49; Neer 2004.
- 15 Findspots of the metopes: de la Coste-Messelière 1957 pl. 1 C–D; 2. The numbering of the metopes follows de la Coste-Messelière 1957, 37–192; see also Boardman 1978, fig. 213.
- 16 Hoffelner 1988, 108; 112–4; Ridgway 1993, 344–5.
- 17 Francis 1990, 102–4; Knell 1990, 57–8; 60–1; Ridgway 1993, 345; Neer 2004, 75. Hoffelner's ideas were accepted by Martini 1990, 249; Maas 1993, 174 n. 62.
- 18 Cf. Hoffelner 1988, 102–8; but for his argument in favor of a position of metope 5 on the south side see below.
- 19 Cf. Neils 1987, 50–1.
- 20 For further consequences of this distribution see below n. 21.
- 21 Cf. also Ridgway 1999, 88–9. The Amazonomachy is no longer positioned in the middle between Herakles (ex-north) and Theseus (south), Hoffelner 1988, 108–117, thus, there is no clue to understand this fight as a joint operation of both heroes, which had been suggested since de la Coste-Messelière 1923, 411–2; 1957, 181 with n. 2, recently especially by Boardman 1982, 9–15; Neils 1987, 47. Since there is at least one relief too much with an Amazon fight to fill only the north side, one of the Amazon metopes belongs either to the Herakles (east) or to the Theseus (south) cycle, with makes – consequently to avoid repetition of a deed – the north side either Theseus' or Herakles' Amazonomachy. If metope 22 is depicting Herakles with his club fighting an Amazon and if it belongs to the Herakles cycle in the east, the northern metopes show Theseus' Amazonomachy. If metope 22, on the other side, belongs to the Amazonomachy in the north, this series of reliefs would show Herakles' deed, because one

- of the Amazon fights has to go to Theseus' south side. In Theseus cycles of the late sixth and early fifth century the Amazonomachy is missing regularly. Furthermore, there seems to remain no space for another metope on Theseus' side (see below n. 41). This would make it more probable that it was also missing in Delphi. Thus, one would better identify the Amazonomachy in the north as Theseus' deed, cf. Ridgway 1993, 345 (with different arguments). In relation to the question of the treasury's date, this problem is of great relevance, because the Athenian Treasury – around 500 – would be the first depiction of Theseus' fight against the Amazons (the Attic Amazonomachy), which often (in my view wrongly) is taken as a mythological tradition not created before the Persian wars, cf. Gauer 1968 64–5 with n. 249; Boardman 1982, especially 9–15; Ridgway 1993, 345; Bol 1998, 95–104 (also sceptical regarding the identification of Amazons with Persians).
- 22 For the north side see n. before.
- 23 Cf. Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 146–149.
- 24 Cf. Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 138 f.
- 25 See above n. 11 and below n. 43. It remains unclear why Neer (2004, 74) dates this introduction of Theseus cycles to the 490s.
- 26 Metope 1 (Sinis): Hoffelner 1988, 78 fig. 1; cf. only Neils 1994, 926 no. 33 pl. 623; no. 36 pl. 625; 927 no. 44 pl. 627; 927–8 no. 46 pl. 629; 929 no. 64, 67, 72 pl. 638–9; Servadei 2005, 36–38. Metope 3 (Kerkyon): Hoffelner 1988, 80 fig. 3; cf. only Neils 1994, 923 no. 33 pl. 623; 926 no. 36 pl. 625; no. 39 pl. 626; 927 no. 41 pl. 626; no. 44 pl. 627; 927–8 no. 46 pl. 629; 932 no. 109 pl. 644; Servadei 2005, 42–44. Metope 6 (bull): Hoffelner 1988, 84 fig. 6; cf. only Neils 1994, 926 no. 34 pl. 624; no. 36 pl. 625; 937 no. 198–91 pl. 655–7; Servadei 2005, 73–75. Metope 7 (Minotaur): Hoffelner 1988, 84–6 fig. 7; cf. only Young 1972; Woodford 1992, 547–81; Woodford 1994, 941 no. 238 pl. 661; Szufnar 1995; Servadei 2005, 100–110 and now Muth 2004. I will discuss the differences of vase-paintings, votive-sculpture and architectural sculpture as different media of presenting Theseus in a paper held at a conference in Freiburg in 2006.
- 27 Cf. only Neils 1994, 926 no. 33 pl. 66 pl. 625; 927 no. 39 pl. 626; 931 no. 97 pl. 642; no. 101 pl. 643; no. 102; no. 103 pl. 643; 932 no. 106 pl. 644; Servadei 2005, 40–44. For the discussions about metope 2 and 4: Brommer 1979, 499–500; Neils 1987, 48–49; see below.
- 28 Berlin, Antikensammlung 1984.61: Neils 1994, 931 no. 100 pl. 642; Servadei 2005, 41. Later, this way of acting becomes usual in Skiron scenes, cf. Neils 1994, 927 no. 628; 927 f. No. 46; no. 47 pl. 629; von den Hoff 2001, 82–3 with n. 39; Servadei 2005, 41.
- 29 See below n. 32.
- 30 Athens, National Museum 515: Hoffelner 1988, 78 fig. 32; cf. also Neils 1994, 933 no. 132 pl. 647; von den Hoff 2001, 83; cf. below n. 49 for the "Harmodios blow."
- 31 Metope 2: Hoffelner 1988, 78–80 fig. 2. Usually, at this time, Theseus, fighting Prokrustes, holds the hammer behind his back and grasps the villain's head, cf. only Neils 1994, 926 no. 33 pl. 623; no. 36 pl. 625; 933 no. 126–128 pl. 646; no. 133 pl. 647; no. 134, 136, 137, 140 pl. 648; Servadei 2005, 44–46. Prokrustes has been identified on metope 2 by de la Coste-Messelière 1957, 42, and Hoffelner 1988, 78–80 (n. 10 with further bibliography), *contra* Homolle 1894, 182 (Periphetes); Schefold 1978, 165 (Skiron); Brommer 1979, 499–500 (Skiron); Brommer 1982, 17 (Skiron); Neils 1987, 48–9 (Skiron); Neils 1994, 928 no. 54 (Skiron or Prokrustes).
- 32 See Neils 1994, 927 no. 45 pl. 628; Servadei 2005, 34–36; the identification of Theseus opponent on Neils 1994, 929 no. 61 pl. 638, is doubtful. Metope 4: Hoffelner 1988, 82–3 fig. 4; Theseus' opponent has been identified as Skiron (de la Coste-Messelière 1957, 46), Prokrustes (Brommer 1979, 499–500; Brommer 1982, 25, 69; Neils 1987, 48–49), Prokrustes or Skiron (Neils 1994, 928 no. 54); Brommer 1979, 499 has excluded Periphetes, whom, on the other hand, Hoffelner 1988, 82–3 has recently recognized.
- 33 Metope 5: Demargne 1984, 1012 no. 596; Hoffelner 1988, 83 fig. 5; Giese 1995, 272. Athena, instead of wearing the helmet on her head, more probably held a helmet in her hand, see above n. 35–39. Rf. cup New York, Metropolitan Mus. 53.11.4; 1970.46: ARV² 406. 7; Neils 1987, 96–7; 161 no. 59 fig. 48; Schefold and Jung 1988, 242–3 fig. 293; Neils 1994, 947 no. 309 pl. 666; Servadei 2005, 176–8 fig. 75.
- 34 Brommer 1982, 69; Neer 2004, 76. For Herakles and Athena cf. Beckel 1961, 41–66; Mommsen 1989; Boardman *et al.* 1990, 143–154; Kunisch 1990. The only similar Theseus scene of this period is on a bf. skyphos in Athens, National Museum Acr. 1280: Neils 1987, 74, 157 no. 29; Neils 1994, 947 no. 308; for Theseus and Athena cf. Beckel 1961, 67–71; Boardman 1975, 2–3; Brommer 1982, 130; Neils 1994, 947–8.
- 35 De la Coste-Messelière 1957, 26 has argued that the geison above the central metope of the south side has a gap due to an overlap of the relief below. He suggested that the helmet, Athena should wear on her head in metope 5, could have filled this gap; cf. Audiat 1933, 38 n. 1; Hoffelner 1988, 83; 110 fig. 5, fig. 38 a (upside down!).
- 36 de la Coste-Messelière 1957, 51 (gorgoneion?) Taf. 18; cf. Hoffelner 83 (piece of garment attached), Giese 1995, 272 n. 4 (no gorgoneion attached).
- 37 de la Coste-Messelière 1957 pl. 15–16; for a comparable helmet cf. Athena on the rf. cup New York, Metropolitan Mus. 53.11.4 above n. 33.
- 38 Cf. only Neils 1994 no. 190; 311; Kunisch 1974 pl. 44,2; 45,2; 46; 47,2; 48,3; Neils 1994 no. 311; or Theseus and Medea with helmet in her hand: Kron 1976 pl. 16, 1. Athena with Theseus: Neils 1994 no. 310; Servadei 2005, 176–8.
- 39 cf. de la Coste-Messelière 1957, 51 (attached right arm); Kasper-Butz 1990, 178; Giese 1995, 272. Cf. the statue in Eleusis, inv. 5140: Fullerton 1986, 208 pl. 41 a; Preka-Alexandri 1991, 40 Abb. 24; cf. also the technique of piecing of the 'Boston throne': Comstock and Vermeule 1976, no. 30. The bulge above Athena's forehead could be part of a stephane, cf. Kunisch 1974, pl. 40–48; Neils 1994 no. 310.
- 40 Neils 1987, 49 n. 232.
- 41 Brommer 1979, 498–9; Neils 1994, 926–9. Thus we should postulate that in Delphi these deeds were depicted in other metopes (Skiron: no. 77 ?, Hoffelner 112 fig. 18; sow: no. 30 ?, Hoffelner 112 fig. 30). If, indeed, the sow and Skiron were part of the cycle in Delphi, too, then, on the south side of the treasury, there remains no space for a metope with Theseus fighting an Amazon (see above n. 21). But since Periphetes appears on the treasury earlier than in every Theseus cycle on vases, the argumentation regarding the sow and Skiron is not without problems.
- 42 See above n. 21.
- 43 Cf. for cycle images of Theseus: Neer 2002, 154–164; von

- den Hoff 2002; von den Hoff 2003.
- 44 Neer 2004, 76.
- 45 Neer 2004, 76.
- 46 For the temple and its metopes: Sauer 1899, 155–79 pl. 4–5; Dinsmoor 1941; Kähler 1949; Lippold 1950, 158; Koch 1955 121–125 pl. 24–7; Morgan 1962; 1963; Ridgway 1981, 26–30 fig. 7–10; Brommer 1982, 69–70 pl. 4 b–7; Dörig 1985, 74–79; Boardman 1991, 146 fig. 111; Neils 1987, 126–28; 177 S3 fig. 70–75; Hoffelner 1988, 111–2 fig. 39; Schefold and Jung 1988, 246–250 fig. 299–300; Boardman *et al.* 1990, 7 no. 1706 pl. 12–3; Knell 1990, 127–139; Woodford 1992, 575 no. 11 pl. 317 (Minotaur); Neils 1994, 928 no. 55 pl. 635–6; Kotsidu 1995; Delivorrias 1997, fig. 2–3; Cruciani and Fiorini 1998, 79–142 pl. 7–11; Reber 1998; see now also Barringer in this volume.
- 47 Schefold 1978, 95–6; Boardman 1990, 43–43; Schefold 1993, 237–9; Wünsche 2003, 91–6.
- 48 Fig. 9.5 has been redrawn from published photographs and drawings in Sauer 1899. A detailed reconstruction of the depicted action is impossible here, because a new examination of the preserved parts of the relief figures could not be undertaken for this paper.
- 49 Cf. only Fehr 1984; Stewart 1990, 135–6 fig. 227–31; Stewart 1997, 69–75; Krumeich 2002, 221–2; 237–40 (with further bibliography); Oenbrink 2004.
- 50 This has been the argument of Taylor 1991, 36–70 and is often repeated, cf. also Ermini 1996; Suter 1975.
- 51 Ober 2003, 220–1.
- 52 See J. Barringer in this volume.

A New Approach to the Hephaisteion: Heroic Models in the Athenian Agora

Judith M. Barringer

The Doric peripteros on the Kolonos Agoraios in Athens is now generally agreed to be the Hephaisteion, mentioned by Pausanias (1.14.6) in his traversal of the Agora (Fig. 10.1).¹ Although consensus exists on the identification, other aspects of the temple, such as its date and the subjects of its sculptural program, are problematic. We may even question its function as a temple because of the absence of

an altar.² Assuming that the building is, in fact, a temple, whose construction was begun between c.460 and 449 B.C.,³ this paper focuses on the temple's sculptures and considers their significance within the context of the site and the civic spectacles staged there for the induction of new citizens. The Hephaisteion dominated its surroundings, including the west portion of the Agora below (Fig.



Fig. 10.1 View of the Hephaisteion. Photo: H.R. Goette.

10.2), where citizens participated in their government and its religious rites. When considered in their setting, the Hephaisteion's images invited viewers, particularly male spectators, to consider and take inspiration from the heroic deeds of the distant and recent past as they moved through the central civic space of the city, which also served as the locus of governmental proceedings, athletic events, military and religious activities.

The marble structure (except for its lowest step, which was of poros) was decorated with marble sculpture,⁴ whose differing styles indicate that work on the building stretched over several decades, starting and stopping as manpower and funds were diverted elsewhere – to other building projects in Attika and Athens, such as those on the Akropolis or to funding for the Peloponnesian War. The oldest-looking sculpted elements, the metopes, indicate a date perhaps before those of the Parthenon so possibly in the 450s or early 440s (Figs 10.3–4).⁵ Nine of Herakles' labors fill the ten metopes on the east façade of

the building – the Nemean lion, the Hydra, the Keryneian Hind, the Erymanthian boar, the horses of Diomedes, fetching Kerberos, his combat with an Amazon, Geryon, whose narrative stretches over two metopes (Fig. 10.5a), and Herakles and the apples (perhaps with Athena?).⁶ The labors shown, such as the combat against an Amazon and his encounter with Athena, may have been selected with an eye to claiming this Panhellenic hero as Athenian (or at least Attic).⁷ Four labors of Theseus adorn the last metopes on the northeastern and southeastern flanks – the episodes of Prokrustes (?), Kerkyon, Skiron, and the Krommyon sow on the north, and the struggle with Periphetes(?), Sinis, the Marathonian bull, and the Minotaur on the south⁸ – thus the metopes of Theseus “frame” those of Herakles, who was the model for Theseus' adventures (Fig. 10.5 a–b). The Theseus episodes chosen document the hero's adventures, step by step, on his travels from Troizen to Athens.⁹ As we shall see, these two heroes, particularly Theseus, offer heroic models not only to the general

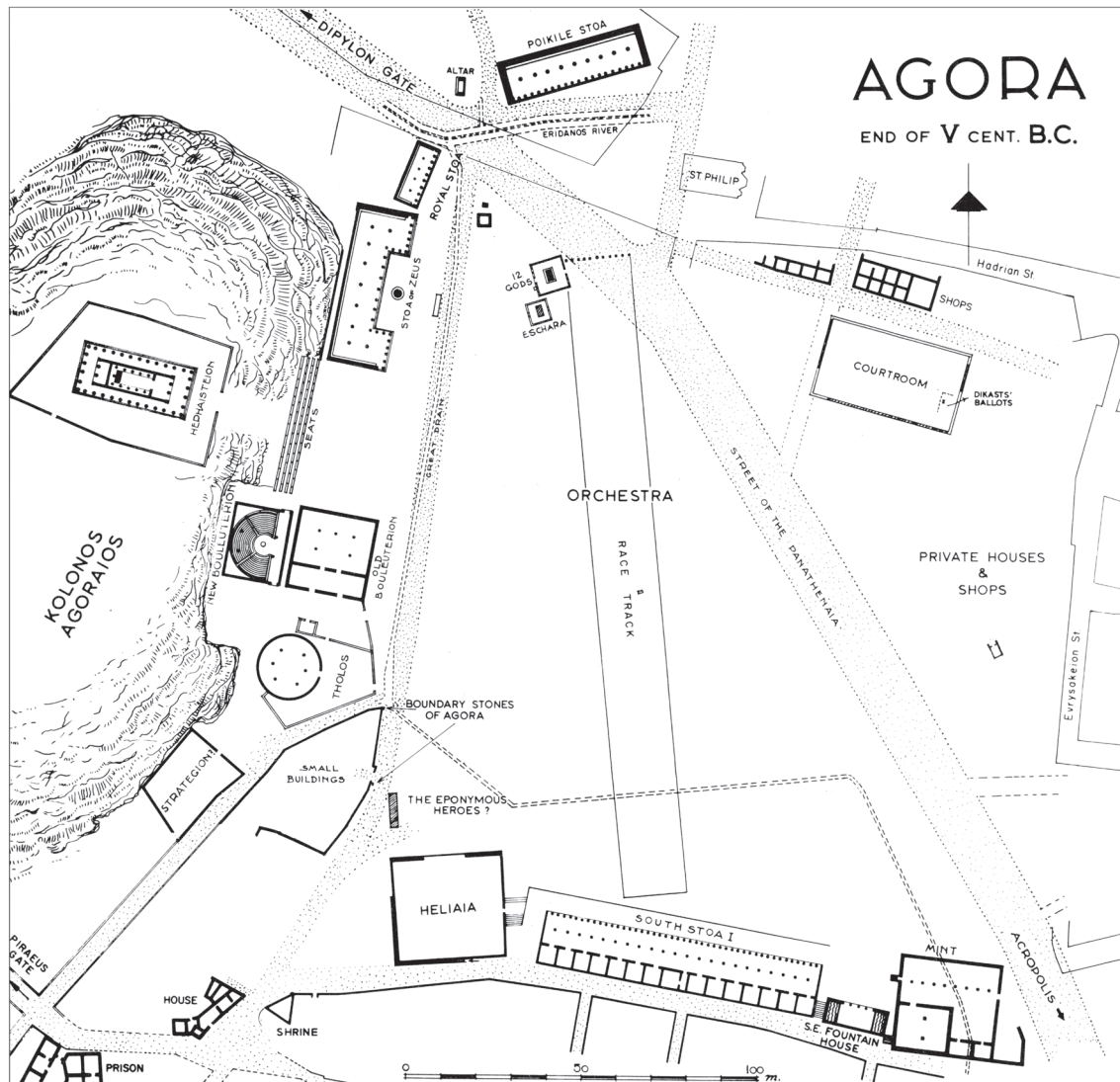


Fig. 10.2 Athens, Agora, Plan at the end of the fifth century B.C., reproduced by permission from J. Camp, *The Athenian Agora* (London 1986) 89 and the American School of Classical Studies Agora Excavations.



Fig. 10.3 Hephaisteion, east metopes, deeds of Herakles. Photo: H.R. Goette.



Fig. 10.4 Hephaisteion, north metopes, adventures of Theseus. Photo: H.R. Goette.

spectator but also to a specific group of viewers.

The friezes (0.85m high), which are later than the metopes, have been dated on the basis of stylistic comparison, to the 430s,¹⁰ or perhaps as late as c.420.¹¹ The west frieze over the opisthodomos depicts a fight between Centaurs and Lapiths in which the central figure, whom most scholars identify as Theseus,¹² adopts the pose of the Tyrannicide Harmodios (Figs 10.7–9, 10.15). The subject of the battle scene on the east frieze and the subjects of the two pediments are uncertain (Figs 10.10–11); I will return to the east frieze later but again, its central figure is depicted in a Tyrannicide pose, this time of Aristogeiton (Fig. 10.12). Based on the evidence of other temples, both past and contemporary, it seems reasonable to suppose that Hephaistos and possibly also Athena appeared in at least the east pediment, and possibly both; cuttings in the center of the east pediment indicate a seated figure,

who is Zeus according to some reconstructions,¹³ but a seated Hephaistos would be a suitable way of rendering the lame god. Perhaps the god appeared on a winged cart, as he does on two Attic red-figure cup tondi of the end of the sixth century B.C.,¹⁴ or seated with Athena standing before him (and presumably others behind him and behind Athena), as he does on several fifth-century Attic vases,¹⁵ where the composition forms an ideal triangle (so suitable for the center of a pediment) in which the two deities are featured.

An inscription (*IG* I³ 472) of c.421–416/415 provides information about the cult statues of Athena and Hephaistos and their installation, giving us a lower date for the completion of the entire sculptural adornment of the structure. Speculation about the appearance of the two statues is based on reflections perceived in reliefs and free-standing Roman copies; it is generally agreed that

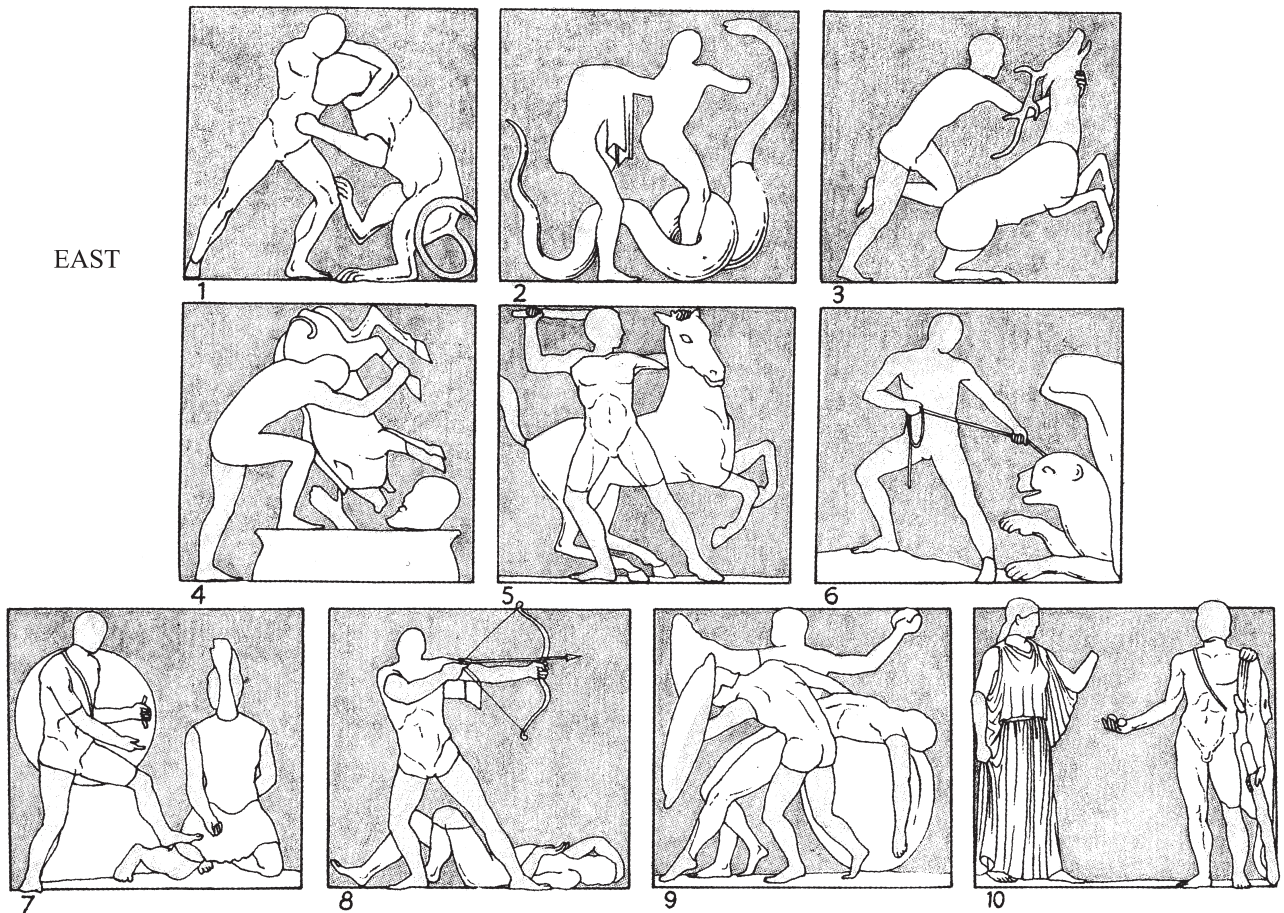


Fig. 10.5a Reconstruction of Hephaisteion east metopes, reproduced with permission from J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London 1985) 151, fig. 111.

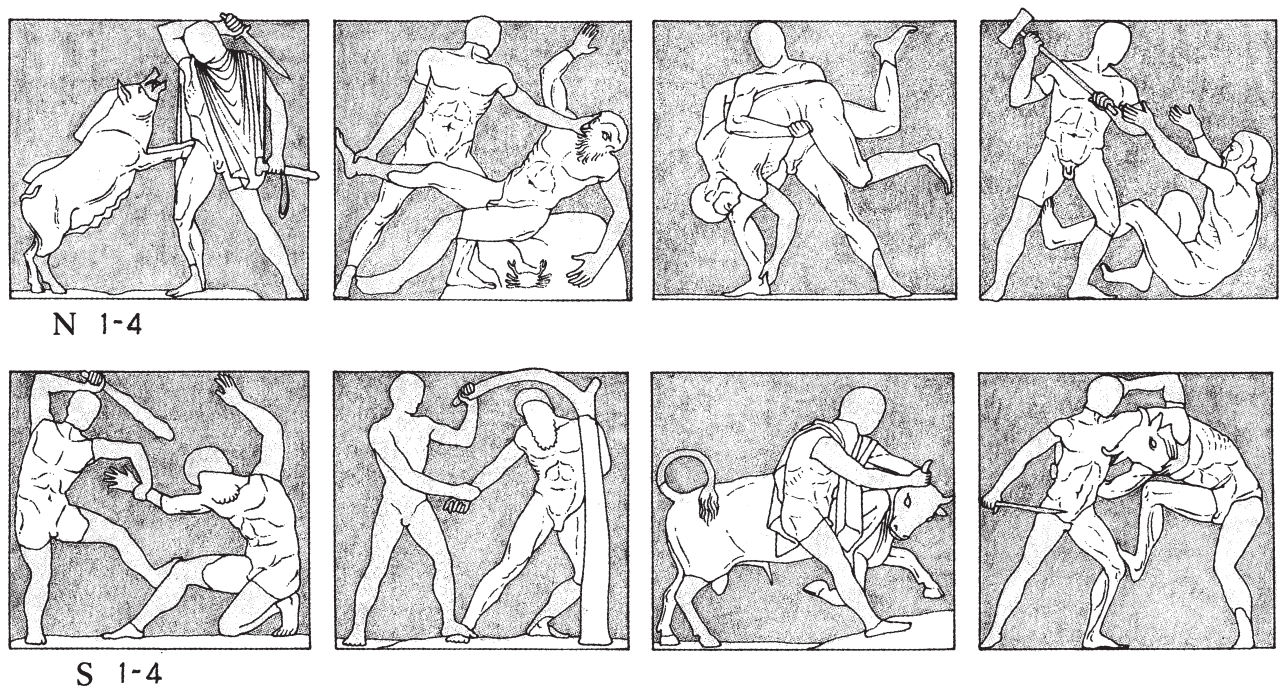


Fig. 10.5b Reconstruction of Hephaisteion north and south metopes, reproduced with permission from J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London 1985) 151, fig. 111.

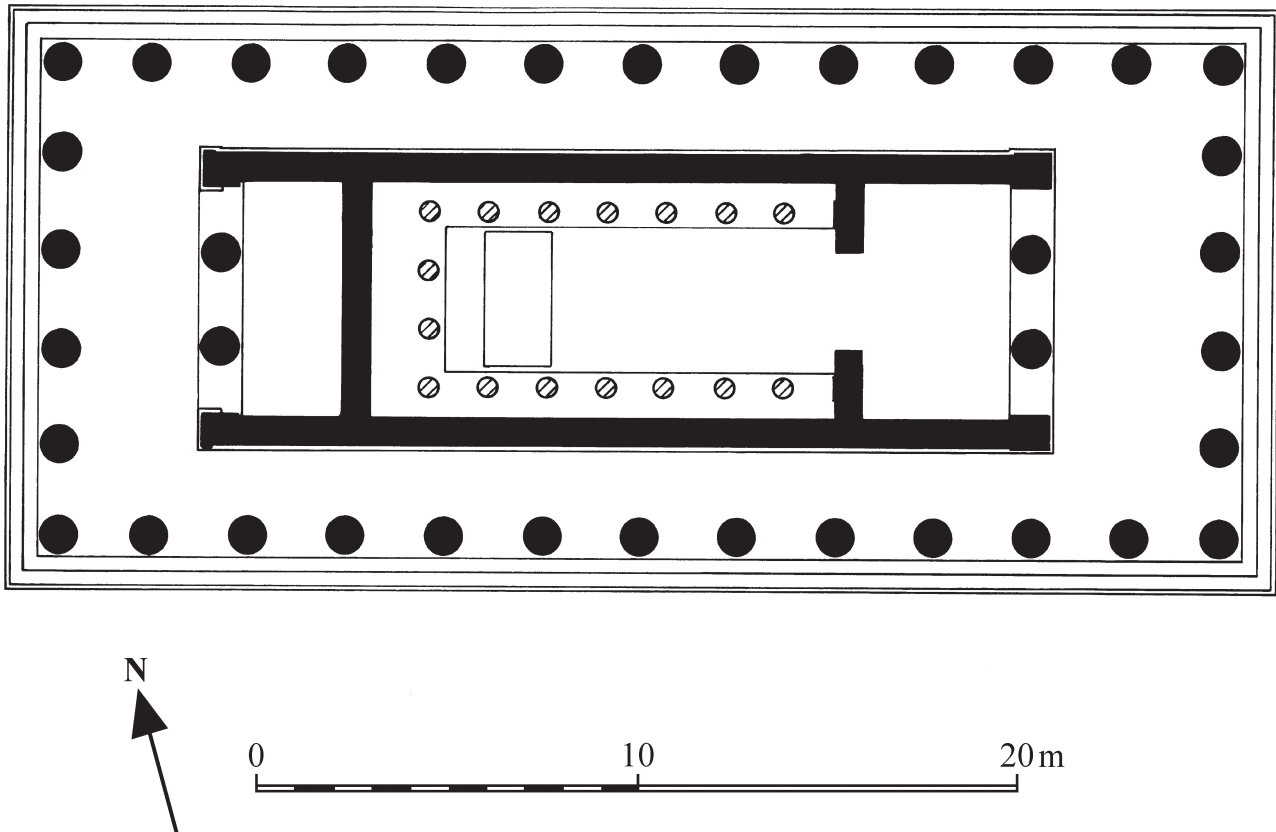


Fig. 10.6 Plan of Hephaisteion. Drawing by H.R. Goette after G. Travlos.

the two standing figures formed a closed composition and that Hephaistos wore workman's clothing and held a hammer while an anvil stood before him (Fig. 10.13).¹⁶ The myth of the birth of Erichthonios seems to have been alluded to, either explicitly on the base for the cult statues or implicitly by the presence of the baby in Athena's arms.¹⁷ This myth, which concerns the roles of Athena and Hephaistos as progenitors of the autochthonous Athenians (cf. Aisch. *Eum.* 13), emphasizes the importance of the two deities of *technē* in the production of Athenians (of course, Athena has numerous spheres of importance to the Athenians) and the Athenians' claim to their city.¹⁸ Combined with the heroic deeds in the metopes and the friezes, the Hephaisteion presents a sequence of myths about the autochthonous Athenians and the early history of the city and offers heroic models for its citizens in the deeds of Theseus and Herakles, representatives of brains and brawn, respectively.

The placement and concentration of sculpture on the Hephaisteion's east façade are oriented towards the Agora, and the choice of subjects and their disposition were made with an eye to the spectator passing from the Agora below to the temple (Figs 10.1–2, 10.6). We have already noted the compositional arrangement and subjects of the temple's metopes. Together with the east frieze, which bridges the pteroma to meet the entablature at just the point where the lateral metopes of Theseus begin, they

form a rectangular "box" on the east front. Scholars have repeatedly commented on the symmetry of the individual sculptured elements, such as the framing of central scenes in the two friezes by symmetrical compositional devices moving out from the center (Figs 10.7, 10.10–11), or the fact that at least one of the friezes, together with Theseus' eight metopes, yield nine adventures for this hero, a match to the nine labors of Herakles depicted in the east metopes (Fig. 10.5).¹⁹ Some scholars have also pointed out the correspondence between the individual scenes of the two sets of labors, offering Theseus as Athenian hero and Herakles as Peloponnesian hero.²⁰ In so conventional a design, then, the asymmetrical placement of sculpture and its clustering on the east of the Hephaisteion are remarkable and can be explained by the patron's and/or designer's intention to direct the viewer's attention to the east of the temple and to the sculptures.²¹

Having completed this brief review, we can turn to the questions at hand. Why is the building decorated as it is? What did the patrons intend, and what meanings were available to contemporary viewers? Scholars have repeatedly noted the abundance of Theseus imagery on this temple to Hephaistos. Theseus appears in half of the metopes, he has been identified as the figure posed as the Tyrannicide Harmodios in the fight between Centaurs and Lapiths on the west frieze,²² and some have even identified him as the Aristogeiton Tyrannicide on the east

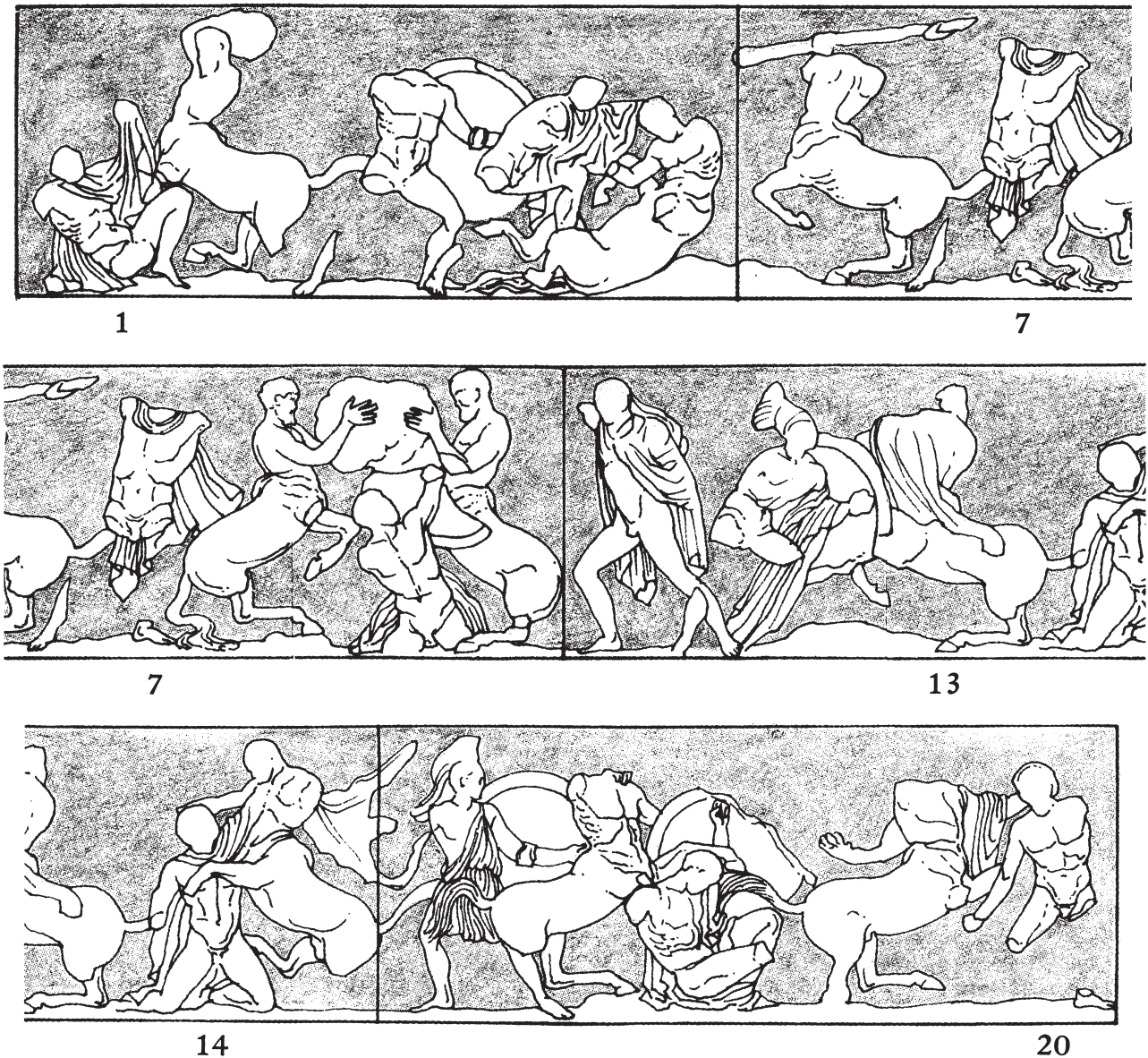


Fig. 10.7 Hephaisteion, west frieze, reconstruction, reproduced with permission from J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London 1985) 153, fig. 113.

frieze (Figs 10.9, 10.12, 10.15).²³ However, the Theseus imagery on the Hephaisteion is explicable when one considers Theseus' close connections with the Athenian democracy and the city's legendary past, his role as model ephebe, Hephaistos' and Athena's roles in producing those citizens, and the Hephaisteion's integration into the visual landscape of the west side of the Agora, where stood the greatest concentration of buildings concerned with the institutions of the democracy:²⁴ by the later-fifth century B.C., these included the Tholos, the Old Bouleuterion (recently re-designated as the Old Metroon),²⁵ the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, and the Royal Stoa (Fig. 10.2).²⁶ And the Eponymous Heroes Monument may have been erected at the southwest corner of the Agora by the time of Aristophanes' *Peace* (1183–84), produced in 421.²⁷

The Hephaisteion was part of a carefully planned

complex of structures and framed by civic buildings. By the time of the Hephaisteion's construction or just thereafter, four long rows of soft poros slabs, forming benches at least 25m and perhaps more than 37m long (the so-called *synedrion* of later sources), were installed on the lower portion of the Kolonos Agoraios (Fig. 10.14).²⁸ The parallel placement of temple and benches, and the benches' central alignment with the temple's east façade, suggest an effort to coordinate the construction of the temple and benches or vice-versa (Fig. 10.2).²⁹ These benches, which have been nominated as seating for the lawcourt in c.422 B.C.³⁰ or as the location of the original Bouleuterion,³¹ were intended for a limited number of spectators (200–400), who could observe events in the Agora.³² Indeed, when viewed from below, the temple and the benches before it, are nearly centered within this larger complex of governmental

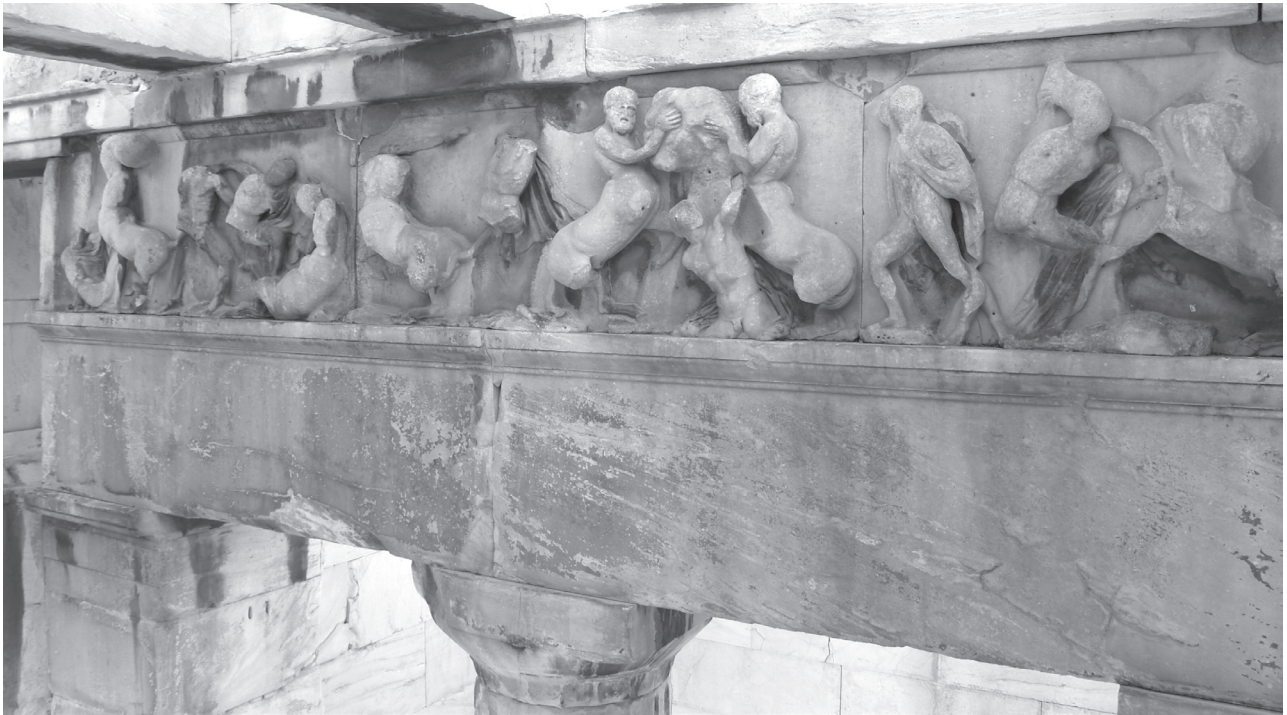


Fig. 10.8 Hephaisteion, view of west frieze. Photo: H.R. Goette.



Fig. 10.9 Hephaisteion, west frieze, central figures. Photo: H.R. Goette.

buildings, a vista that was intentional and made possible by leaving the area in the Agora in front of the benches entirely open except, perhaps, for a low fence to demarcate this seating as a distinct location within the larger public

space.³³ These physical adjustments indicate an effort to integrate the temple into the larger setting of the Agora and to encourage pedestrians to pass from one space to the other.

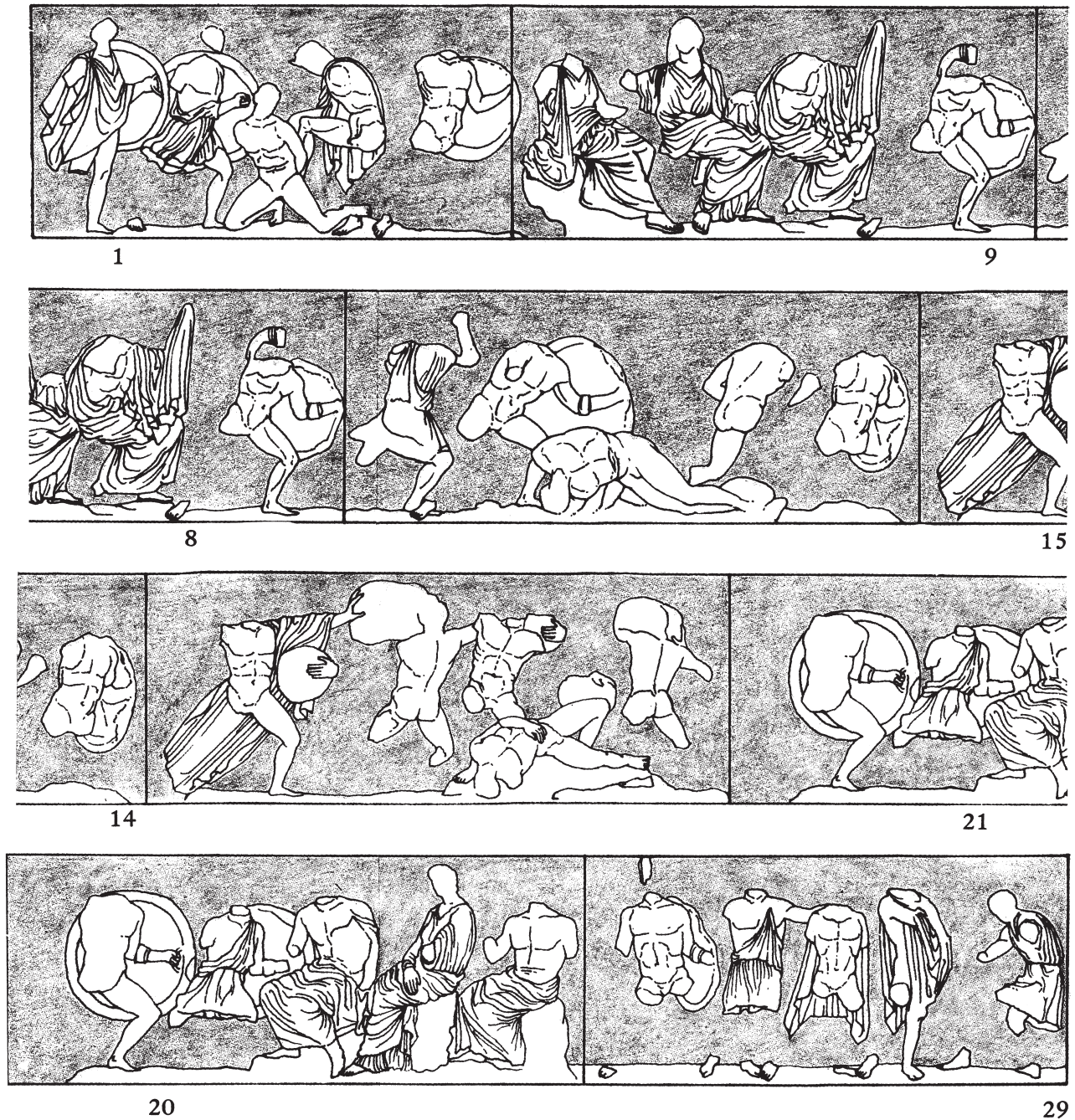


Fig. 10.10 Hephaisteion, east frieze, reconstruction, reproduced with permission from J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London 1985) 152 fig. 112.

Thus, participants in the city's democracy, i.e., Athenian males, citizens, would seem to be the targeted audience for the Hephaisteion's sculptures, which projected virtues appropriate to the civic elite and their next generation. I do not wish to imply that the painted sculptures were easily visible in all details to viewers in the Agora but it is reasonable to suppose that those walking along this portion of the Agora would take a closer look at the building's imagery at least several times and would be familiar with the sculptures' themes.

Theseus' special association with the Athenian demo-

cracy is well established and does not need rehearsal here.³⁴ His defeat of unscrupulous brigands and savage beasts are analogues for democracy's defeat of its challengers.³⁵ The quotation of the Tyrannicide poses for both Theseus (Fig. 10.9) and the east frieze figure (Fig. 10.12), whomever it may be, as well as Theseus in his combat with the Minotaur (Fig. 10.5b), certainly was intended not merely to heroize these fighters but to call to mind the Tyrannicides group (Fig. 10.15) nearby in the Agora (Timaíos in the fourth century A.D. places them in the Orchestra, see Fig. 10.2)³⁶ and to imbue the figures,



Fig. 10.11 Hephaisteion, east frieze composed from casts in the British Museum, London. Photos and montage: H.R. Goette



Fig. 10.12 Hephaisteion, east frieze, central figure. Photo: G. Hellner; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen, Neg. D-DAI-ATH 1974/743

particularly Theseus, with pro-democratic and anti-tyrannical meaning:³⁷ in the Centauromachy,³⁸ Theseus nobly fights the irascible Centaurs, the embodiment of man's brutality (the Centaurs are, after all, partially human).

As scholars have pointed out, Theseus served as an exemplary image of service to the city and, however anachronistic, to the democracy. The metopes highlight his (and Herakles') physical prowess (Fig. 10.5). All but one of the metopes – Herakles and Athena – emphasize physical conquest of enemies, and we would expect this of Herakles. But Theseus was known for his intelligence and his ability to conquer his opponents with his wits, as von den Hoff points out, who also has observed that vase paintings of Theseus defeating the Minotaur and

other opponents from c.460–450 onward usually omit the fight itself and depict the hero as triumphant.³⁹ Theseus is depicted as both warrior and citizen on contemporary vases and served as a role model to Athenian ephebes.⁴⁰ The physical aspect of the two heroes, particularly Theseus, on the Hephaisteion, a public structure, may have been designed to appeal to Athenian citizens in the making, who wished to recognize themselves in Theseus.⁴¹ Further evidence of Theseus as athletic exemplar and model for young Athenian citizens are the athletic games, attested by victor lists, that comprised part of the festivities of the annual Theseia first instituted in c.475.⁴² While the victor lists date to the second century B.C., it is possible that they reflect the character, at least to some extent, of the fifth-century incarnation of the festival,⁴³ especially since athletic games are eminently suited to this young ephebic hero. One might object that athletic games were also part of the Panathenaia, which honors Athena, who is not a role model for ephebes, but in fact, the Panathenaic games *are* meant to encourage, reward, and exhibit the best that Athens had to offer. Many Theseia events resembled Panathenaic ones, and the tribal Theseia contests were open only to Athenians – paides of various ages, epheboi, neaniskoi, and andres.⁴⁴

The choice of this exemplary Athenian hero for the Hephaisteion may be even less surprising since Hephaistos himself played a central role in Athenian legend and was instrumental in producing new citizens, both in myth and ritual. Hephaistos was father of Erichthonios, the autochthonous Athenian king, whose “mother” was Athena, another deity of *techne*; as already noted, this myth was alluded to in the Hephaisteion. Participants in the Apaturia, where young men were enrolled in their phratries as citizens, sang a hymn while holding torches and made offerings to Hephaistos.⁴⁵ We do not know where these ceremonies took place but the Hephaisteion was central to other religious events. The Hephaisteia, celebrated by all the populace, is attested by *IG* I³ 82 301/1 of 421/20 (the time of the Peace of Nikias), which indicates a reorganization of the cult of Hephaistos, so this was done just as the cult statues in the peripteros on the Kolonos

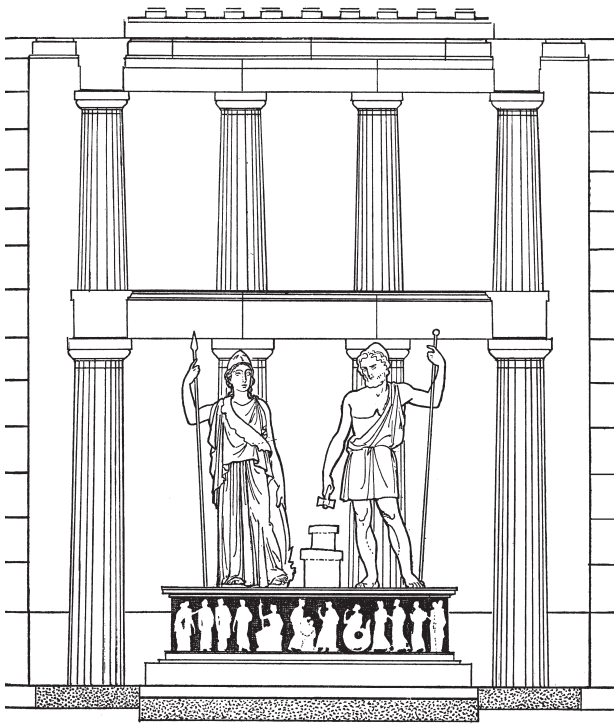


Fig. 10.13 Hephaisteion, reconstruction of cult statues reproduced by permission from S. Papaspyridi-Karusu, "Alkamenes und das Hephaisteion." *AM* 69-70 (1954-1955) 83 Abb. 3.

Agoraios were begun, suggesting a growing importance of Hephaistos' cult. Dithyrambic choruses, a *lampadedromia* or torch race on foot, a procession, and an offering of cattle were made at the Hephaisteia⁴⁶ from which three cattle would provide meat for metics (among whom were many craftsmen).⁴⁷ Some have suggested that the torch race, a tribal race, run by ephebes was initiated by lighting the torches at or in the Hephaisteion,⁴⁸ though more recently, scholars have argued that the torch race began at the altar of Hephaistos in the Academy,⁴⁹ so presumably the torches were lit there then brought to the Hephaisteion.⁵⁰

Thus, the Hephaisteion's imagery, concerned as it is with Theseus, model ephebe, together with Herakles, both physical exemplars of heroic, athletic behavior, would seem particularly apt for this structure, dedicated to a god who was pivotal in the registration of new Athenian citizens. The sculptural themes, particularly Theseus, on the Hephaisteion finds resonances on monuments in the Agora below, and any viewer passing through the Agora, particularly along the west side will have had the opportunity to see Theseus repeatedly invoked in sculpted and painted form. Depending on when the temple was constructed and how much of it and its decoration were designed at the time of the building's inception, we can talk about the Hephaisteion's imagery being influenced by earlier structures in this portion of the Agora and about the Hephaisteion's imagery shaping that of subsequent buildings. Following the (tentatively)

established chronology, the Hephaisteion was begun before the Parthenon, and its metopes in place by the 440s or so. By this time, both the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa Poikile were standing and both were decorated with Theseus imagery (Fig. 10.2). According to Pausanias (1.3.1), Theseus appears as a terracotta akroterion crowning the Stoa Basileios of perhaps 460,⁵¹ where the hero throws Skiron into the sea – the building itself was used, among other things, as the seat of the Archon Basileus and for displaying the laws.⁵² Theseus also fights the Amazons and emerges on the plain of Marathon, where Greeks fight Persians, in the paintings in the Stoa Poikile (Paus. 1.15.2–3) of c.475–460 B.C.;⁵³ Athena and Herakles are also present in the Marathon painting, as they are on the later Hephaisteion in one of the Herakles metopes. In the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios of c.430–420 B.C.,⁵⁴ closer to the temple, were paintings of Theseus, Democracy, and the Demos (Paus. 1.3.2–3). Theseus then is athlete, upholder or even instigator of the democracy⁵⁵ (numerous ancient authors mention that slaves took refuge at the Theseion⁵⁶), and warrior: and we know that at least on one occasion, Athenian soldiers rallied and spent the night in his shrine (Thuc. 6.61.2; Andoc. *De mysteriis* 45), suggesting the special importance he had for the military, whose role was to protect the city.⁵⁷

Moreover, athletic and military events took place in the Agora, which invited comparison with heroic deeds of a Theseus or Herakles displayed on the temple nearby. The running events of the Panathenaia probably were held in the middle of the Agora during the second half of the fifth century B.C. (Fig. 10.2),⁵⁸ runners dashed past the Tyrannicides group, and the spectators on the benches of the Kolonos Agoraios could watch from afar. These athletes serve as visual embodiments of the athletic prowess illustrated in the metopes of the nearby Hephaisteion (Fig. 10.5). Admittedly, the metopes show images of wrestling and combat but the importance may have been that the heroes were athletic, not the particular "sports" that they practiced. Military maneuvers performed in the Agora are attested for the fourth century B.C. and may have been performed earlier during the fifth century.⁵⁹

To sum up thus far, viewers passing from the west side of the Agora to the temple or vice-versa would be able to observe an ensemble of structures and visual décor that repeatedly invoked a limited menu of heroic deeds, both of the distant and recent past. The heroic figures on the Hephaisteion appealed to the citizens and ephebes, men of action – warriors, athletes, participants and defenders of the city's democracy – whose "production" was overseen by Hephaistos and Athena. Additionally, these two deities of *techne* also were of significance to those involved in manual production. Viewers at the other end of the social spectrum, *banauoi* or *technitai*, were in close physical proximity to the Hephaisteion, which sits near bronze foundries, suitable to the god. Andokides (*De mysteriis* 40) mentions a bronze foundry below the temple, and evidence for bronze-casting, including clay



Fig. 10.14 View of Hephaisteion east façade from Agora below. Photo: author.

moulds for large bronze statues, was found southwest of the temple.⁶⁰ Harpokration (*Kolonetas*) of the second century A.D. remarks that hired men were called *kolonetai* because of their proximity to the Kolonos near the Agora, where the Hephaisteion is located. Craftsmen, then, also were among daily spectators of the Hephaisteion, and the temple and the gods worshipped there – who were rendered in bronze as befitting these deities⁶¹ – would have special appeal to them;⁶² some scholars, in fact, have suggested that the impulse to build this temple came from craftsmen, whose initiative was supported by Ephialtes followed by Perikles.⁶³ The place where the Athenian Chalkeia festival was celebrated by bronzeworkers in honor of Hephaistos and Athena Ergane is not known though somewhere in the proximity of this temple to the bronzeworking god amid the bronze foundries around the Kolonos Agoraios would seem logical.⁶⁴ Sophokles frag. 844, which is often interpreted in connection with the Chalkeia, mentions “people who work with their hands” making offerings of *liknoi* to Athena Ergane and placing them “by the anvil with heavy hammer” (translation H. Lloyd-Jones, Loeb edition), suggestive perhaps of the cult statue of Hephaistos in the Hephaisteion.⁶⁵ Such a

postulation is given some validity when one recalls that the Chalkeia links Hephaistos and Athena, in her guise as Polias, in another way: it was at the Chalkeia that the loom was erected for weaving the peplos ferried to Athena’s statue on the Akropolis nine months later in the Panathenaic procession.⁶⁶ Thus, these two deities are fundamentally linked to the city’s sense of identity and history – both distant and contemporary – and it is likely that the Hephaisteion in the Agora, which honors Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia,⁶⁷ played an important role in festivals honoring these gods of *technē*.

Thus, the temple’s sculptures target male citizens, aristocrats and craftsmen alike.⁶⁸ Considering the integral role played by Hephaistos and Athena in the forging of new citizens, the inclusion of Erichthonios in the cult statue group, and the postulated date, c.460–450, of the Hephaisteion’s initial construction, it is worth considering whether the new citizenship law of c.451/0 B.C., which restricted Athenian citizenship to those whose parents were both citizens, may have inspired the temple’s inception.⁶⁹ If so, the temple would visually underscore the importance of legitimate citizenship to the city’s well-being and sense of itself. But another political event



Fig. 10.15 Tyrannicides group, Roman copy, Naples, Museo Nazionale G103-4, Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom, Inst. Neg. 58.1905.

may be even more relevant: the Ephialtic reforms of 462 B.C., which shifted power from the aristocratic Areopagos Council, which met on the Areopagos, to the assembly and the lawcourts, which met in the Agora, thus yielding more power to the citizen body at large, who in turn, had the duty to execute these powers responsibly. The sculptural themes of the Hephaisteion as outlined here are well suited to this development.

In light of the schema presented here, let us return to the Hephaisteion's east frieze (Figs 10.10–12). Scholarly speculation on the subject has ranged widely: among the most common proposals are a battle between Greeks and Trojans on the Skamander River, as described in the *Iliad* in which the central Aristogeiton-like figure is identified as Hephaistos intervening on behalf of Achilles (although we have noted that this same figure is designated as Theseus by others),⁷⁰ or Theseus battling Pallas and sons, signified by the rock-throwing opponents (viewed as Giants), who try to overthrow their cousin, the king of Athens,⁷¹ or a Gigantomachy.⁷² Trojans require the central figure to be Hephaistos for whom no such active, energetic iconography is attested, particularly in the fifth century B.C., and while

the god does appear on the frieze, most scholars recognize him seated among the deities (24; Fig. 10.10). While the battle of Theseus and the Pallantids is appealing to those who wish(ed) to recognize the structure as the Theseion, that identification has been discarded by virtually all scholars, and what's more, the few (questionable) iconographical parallels do not strongly resemble the scene depicted on the Hephaisteion's east frieze.⁷³ As for the suggestion of the Gigantomachy: Giants are implausible because they should be fighting the gods, who here are seated on a rocky landscape watching the fray.

One of the most striking things about the east frieze are the boulders wielded by the rightward-advancing adversaries, who battle against armor-clad males, who wear either chlamydes or exomis. The exomis is an interesting choice; while it is commonly worn by soldiers, it is also associated with slaves, laborers, and craftsmen, and particularly with the god Hephaistos, who is honored by this temple and whose cult statue may have worn the exomis.⁷⁴ Perhaps the protagonists are meant to be identified as followers of the god in some way, both as the heroic soldiers wearing the chlamydes, familiar from sculpture and vase painting, and the more rustic figures wearing the exomis, associated with workers and with the god himself. Buschor saw the boulders as evidence of an earthquake easily restrained by the god Hephaistos, portrayed in the center of the frieze.⁷⁵ But as already noted, this figure cannot be Hephaistos. The boulders, however, are intriguing, particularly when one considers that the gods sit on rocks, and boulders figure prominently on the opposite west frieze, where they are wielded by Centaurs. Some primordial battle witnessed by the gods and fought with boulders against the more sophisticated weapons of the victors would seem suitable. Perhaps we might find a solution in an early battle of Athens, which would be a suitable theme for a temple so intimately bound up with issues of autochthony and the creation of Athenian citizens.

Plato (*Kritias* 112b) relates that early Athenians created an enclosure around the shrine of Athena and Hephaistos, like a garden enclosure round a house (οἶον μιᾷς οἰκίας κῆπον ἐνὶ περιβόλῳ προσπεριβεβλημένοι), near where the soldiers of Athens lived. We do not know if Plato was referring to the Hephaisteion on the Kolonos Agoraios or to another (now unidentified) shrine in honor of the two deities but he says that the shrine is on the Akropolis, which in this legendary time, stretched from the Pnyx to Lykavittos; according to Plato, erosion created the valley between.⁷⁶ The domestic analogy – garden-like enclosure round a house – is intriguing not only because some scholars have suggested that the plantings around the Hephaisteion from the Hellenistic period, which may have existed earlier, might form this enclosure,⁷⁷ but also when one thinks of the literary image of the temple, the Hephaisteion, as house; the occupants of the temple, Athena and Hephaistos, as progenitors of Erichthonios, a legendary autochthonous Athenian king; and the “family tableau” within the temple/house formed by the cult

statues and the reference to the myth of Erichthonios, perhaps on the base.⁷⁸ Plato describes the two deities as siblings, born of Zeus, who share a common nature – their love of wisdom and artistry – and held one portion of land, Athens, as their common territory. And Plato also assigns them a tutelary role with regard to the city: the two divinities taught order (τὴν τάξιν) of the polis to the autochthonous race of Athenians, which stems from the two deities (*Kritias* 109c–d).

Plato recounts all this in the course of describing the greatest of early battles, the Athenian defeat of the inhabitants of imperialist Atlantis, which was shortly thereafter destroyed by earthquake (see also *Pl. Ti.* 24e–25d). I think that the east frieze of the temple of Hephaistos and Athena may portray this mythic battle.⁷⁹ Unfortunately, there is no iconographic parallel to which we could compare the east frieze for confirmation, which, it is important to note, is also true of the fight of Theseus against the Pallantids, the conventional reading of the frieze. No other ancient author recounts the Atlantis myth, which has suggested to some scholars that Plato invented the myth. If this is so, then the suggestion made here must be discarded because of Plato's fourth-century B.C. date. But it is worth noting that there is visual evidence for myths that have no written corollary (Exekias' Attic black-figure amphora of Ajax and Achilles gaming immediately comes to mind⁸⁰), and while it may be unusual to have only one written survival of a myth, this does not automatically mean that the single source was its inventor, i.e., that it did not exist in some earlier form now lost to us. In any case, the evidence from the temple itself and Plato's association of the temple, the city's soldiers, Athena, and Hephaistos in the course of recounting the battle of Atlantis against Athens are highly suggestive.

In the west frieze, Centaurs flanking Kaineus hammer the Lapith into the earth with boulders, a curious inversion of the birth of Erichthonios from the earth, which was depicted within the temple. This juxtaposition points up the contrast between the unruly Centaurs, who use base raw materials as weapons and the *technē* of the gods Hephaistos and Athena, who together forge a marvel, a civilized being sprung from the earth, the first Athenian, and consequently all his Athenian descendants.

If the Hephaisteion's east frieze does portray the Athenian victory over Atlantis, it is plausible that the central figure could be intended as Theseus although he is not named as a fighter in Plato's account of this battle. The temple's imagery then would share a thematic focus on the exemplary deeds of Theseus, the champion of the Athenian democracy and model *ephebe*, together with Herakles, the great Panhellenic hero, and the Athenian victory over the greatest of its early opponents. Read in their physical and social context, such a conglomeration of myths is especially suited to this temple to Hephaistos and Athena, the mythological forbearers of the Athenians and chief deities of *technē*, whose production includes new citizens, who participated in the civic workings of Athens in the nearby buildings in the Agora.

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Notes

- 1 The question of whether this building was the Theseion or the temple to Hephaistos and Athena was a preoccupation of earlier scholars. For a summary of the controversy, see Reber 1998, 32. But the identification has been challenged again recently by Wetzel (1996), who claims that the structure does not accord with temple architecture and planning and therefore, we should not think of this structure as a temple.
- 2 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 149. Kotsidu (1995 n. 52) offers a brief recent discussion of the problem.
- 3 Date of initiation of construction as 449: Boardman 1985, 146; Dinsmoor (1975, 180) on the basis that it must be just before the Parthenon and the potsherds found among stonemasons' chips; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 142–3; Boersma (1964, 102–6) as part of a larger Kimonian building program (cf. Cruciani and Fiorini 1998, who broaden the dates to c.450/445 but accept the Kimonian patronage). Ridgway (1981, 27) and Morgan (1962a, 219) put it at c.450. For 460: Reber (1998, 32, 47) reviews the evidence and proposals and advocates a date for the beginning of construction just after the Ephialtic reforms of 462/1. Camp (2001, 103) places the beginning of construction c.460–450 B.C., and Delivorrias (1997b, 95) thinks it was no earlier than 454/453 B.C.
- 4 Dinsmoor (1975, 180) claims that Pentelic was used for the building, Parian for the sculpture, and Thompson (1949, 233) assigned both Parian and Pentelic sculpture to the

- Pentelic and Parian marble building. See also Scheffer 1996, 182. Delivorrias (1997b, 87) declares the controversy to be over: all the architectural sculpture was made of Parian marble.
- 5 Delivorrias (1997b, 84) and Neils (1987, 127) place them in the 450s. On the metopes, see also Morgan 1962a.
 - 6 Thompson (1962, 340–1) discusses the possibilities, including a Hesperid (also advocated by Morgan 1962a, 212) and weighs in in favor of Athena. He is followed in this identification by Ridgway (1981, 29–30).
 - 7 Knell 1990, 130, 133. Ralf von den Hoff also pointed out to me that compositional elements seem to be efforts to liken Herakles to Theseus. I am presently investigating these possibilities.
 - 8 Neils 1987, 126–7; Thompson 1962, 341; Morgan (1962a, 212–4) discusses the identification of the adventures and the problematic Periphetes and Prokrustes metopes.
 - 9 Knell 1990, 130–1.
 - 10 See, e.g., Felten 1984, 58; Ridgway 1981, 88. Delivorrias (1997b, 95) objects to a date between 430 and 420 B.C. and instead places them between 436 and 431 B.C. Von Bockelberg (1979, 48) assigns them to c.430–425.
 - 11 Boersma 1964, 106.
 - 12 E.g., Cruciani and Fiorini 1998, 131; Reber 1998, 35–6; Knell 1990, 136; Morgan 1962b, 222, 223, 226; Thompson 1962, 343, 345–6.
 - 13 Thompson (1949, 244–7) interprets him as Zeus in a depiction of the introduction of Herakles to Olympus. See also Thompson (1962, 344–5), who identifies the eastern akroteria as Hesperides and agrees with Harrison's interpretation of the west pediment as the Centauromachy at the wedding of Perithoos (see Kotsidu [1995, 98], who also concurs with Harrison's hypothesis). Morgan (1963), however, interprets the east pediment as the birth of Athena. Scheffer (1996) thinks that the east pediment portrays the return of Hephaistos and believes that the enthroned figure was Hera, and Simon (1998, 199) accepts this proposal. On sculptures assigned to the pediments, see Delivorrias 1997b, 96–100; Thompson 1949.
 - 14 Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2273, *ARI*² 174, 31, *Beazley Addenda*² 184; Florence, Museo Archeologico 81 600, *LIMC* 4, 633 no. 44, s.v. Hephaistos [A. Hermary and A. Jacquemin].
 - 15 Fragmentary Attic red-figure cup, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2294, *ARI*² 400, 1, *Paralipomena* 370, *Beazley Addenda*² 230; Attic white-ground alabastron, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 2314, *LIMC* 4, 632 no. 12, s.v. Hephaistos [A. Hermary and A. Jacquemin].
 - 16 See, e.g., Kosmopoulou (2002, 129), who summarizes the evidence and provides bibliography; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Hephaistos [A. Hermary and A. Jacquemin] 634–635 no. 67; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Athena [P. Demargne] 979 no. 241. Brommer (1978, 75–90) neatly illustrates and discusses the various reconstructions and offers one of his own.
 - 17 On the myth of Erichthonios and his original identification with Erechtheus, see *LIMC* 4, s.v. Erechtheus [U. Kron], 923–51. According to Kron, the two mythological figures were only clearly differentiated in the second half of the fifth century. See also *LIMC* 4, s.v. Hephaistos [A. Hermary and A. Jacquemin], 629. Robertson (1985) dates the inception of the myth of Erichthonios' birth from Hephaistos' pursuit of Athena to the mid-sixth century B.C. and is firm in distinguishing Erichthonios from Erechtheus (254–6). For the base showing the birth of Erichthonios, see Harrison (1977, 137–78), who accepts Papaspyridi-Karusu's reconstruction of 1954–1955, and more recently Delivorrias 1997a, who offers a somewhat different reconstruction based on the rather startling idea that Athena and Hephaistos enjoyed a *hieros gamos* and would place the scene in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens. On the reconstruction of the baby held in Athena's arms, see Palagia 2000, 68–74. For a summary of other views of the subject of the cult statue base and a recent survey of the evidence, see Kosmopoulou (2002, 126–30, 242–4), who favors the birth of Erichthonios on the base. Based on the cuttings on the presumed orthostate blocks of Eleusinian limestone, twelve figures were attached to the base.
 - 18 For recent treatments of this myth and the issue of autochthony in fifth-century Athens, see, e.g., Cohen 2000, 82–103; Shapiro 1998.
 - 19 E.g., Reber 1998, 35, 45; Knell 1990, 134–8; Felten 1984, 58; Thompson 1962, 343.
 - 20 Delivorrias 1997b, 87.
 - 21 Cf. Dinsmoor 1975, 181; and Thompson (1962, 342–3), who also remarks on the effort to unify the parts of the east porch. But see Morgan 1962a, who argues that the original plan was for all the metopes to be carved, which would subtract from the emphasis on the eastern side of the building. *Contra*: Knell 1990, 133.
 - 22 *Supra* n. 12.
 - 23 E.g., Harrison 2005, 122; Reber 1998, 45; Von Bockelberg 1979, 27; Morgan 1962b, 222, 223, 226.
 - 24 Thompson (1962, 347) briefly mentions the suitability of the Hephaisteion's Theseus imagery for the building's location near the west side of the Agora.
 - 25 Miller (1995) identifies this structure as the Old Metroon.
 - 26 See Shear (1994, 231–41) for the dates of the initial constructions of the Old Bouleuterion and the Royal Stoa.
 - 27 Camp 2001, 158. For an earlier date, see, e.g., Hölscher (1998, 162), who places it in the Periklean period. The lines suggests a list of those designated for military service near a statue of Pandion.
 - 28 Camp 1986, 100 places their length at 25m, while Miller (1995, 145) estimates their total length as more than 37m. A fifth row of benches may once have existed; see Miller 1995, 147 n. 38. Thompson and Wycherley (1972, 149) also mention a ramp that was built running from the Agora up to the east façade of the temple on the Kolonos Agoraios but offer no explanation or evidence.
 - 29 Arguing against Thompson who puts their construction at c.450 and after the Hephaisteion, Miller (1995, 147) thinks that the benches preceded the construction of the Hephaisteion and dates them to the time of the construction of the Tholos. For the purposes of this paper, the co-ordinated construction of Hephaisteion with the benches is the key point, whichever came first.
 - 30 Boegehold 1967.
 - 31 Miller 1995, 145–146.
 - 32 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 149; Boegehold (1967, 118–9) estimates that an additional hundred persons could be seated on the hillside below the benches in addition to a minimum of 400 on the benches. Miller (1995, 147) places the seating capacity at about 400 while Camp (1986, 100) provides the more modest estimate of at least 200.
 - 33 The fence is restored by Miller (1995, 149–51) to demarcate his hypothetical Bouleuterion from the rest of the Agora. On the history of the shrine of Apollo, see Hedrick 1988.

- 34 E.g., von den Hoff 2001.
- 35 Cruciani and Fiorini 1998, 124–5.
- 36 Ajootian 1998, 3ff.; Reber 1998, 35–6, 44.
- 37 E.g., Reber 1998, 44; Knell 1990, 132, 138. See also Cruciani and Fiorini 1998, 124 on the metopes.
- 38 On the Centauromachy, see *LIMC* 8, s.v., Kentauroi et Kentauroides [M. Leventopoulou] 671–710, esp. 689 no. 213.
- 39 von den Hoff 2003c, 24–5; von den Hoff 2001, 79, 83–5. von den Hoff (2001, 85, 88) notes the Hephaisteion's divergence from this model.
- 40 von den Hoff 2003b, 33. For the issue of ephebes in the fifth-century, see the summary of scholarship in Barringer 2001, 47–59.
- 41 von den Hoff 2003a, 19–21; von den Hoff 2003b, 34; von den Hoff 2003c, 25.
- 42 von den Hoff 2003b, 33–4; Bugh 1990, 20.
- 43 *Contra*: Bugh 1990. According to the second-century inscriptions, the events included euandria, euoplia, torch race, gymnastic, and equestrian competitions. See Bugh 1990, 22ff.
- 44 Bugh 1990, 22–4.
- 45 On the Apaturia, see Hdt. 1.147; Deubner 1956, 232–4, who cites Harpokration (n. 10) for the information pertaining to Hephaistos.
- 46 Simon 1983, 53; Deubner 1956, 212–3. See also Hdt. 8.98, who mentions a lampadedromia in honor of Hephaistos, and Robertson's (1985, 286) comment on this passage; Robertson posits that the torch race predates *IG* I³ 82 and the end of Herodotos' working life.
- 47 Harrison 1977, 414–6; Deubner 1956, 213. Harrison also explores the thematic connections between the Chalkeia and Hephaistia and posits their celebration close to one another in time in the Athenian calendar (415).
- 48 Papaspyridi-Karusu (1954–1955, 74) suggests that the torches were lit at the anvil next to the statue of Hephaistos in the temple.
- 49 Robertson (1985, esp. 258–265, 284–287) discusses the Hephaisteion at the Academy, where he locates the myth of Hephaistos' pursuit of Athena and the start of the torch race of the Hephaisteia. According to Robertson, the myth is an aition for the bringing of new fire to the Akropolis from the Academy, which occurred at the Panathenaia.
- 50 *IG* I³ 36; Robertson 1985, 284; Harrison (1977, 414) proposes that fire was brought from the Academy to the temple, as in other torch races for other festivals, to make it available to households and craftsmen, who would take new fire at the Hephaisteia.
- 51 Shear 1994, 237–41; Nicholls 1970, 120–123 discusses terracotta fragments that might pertain to this group.
- 52 Shear 1994, 239–40. Thompson and Wycherley (1972, 83–90) describe the building and mention fragments of the terracotta akroterion (85).
- 53 Camp 2001, 67–8.
- 54 Camp (2001, 104) provides the date.
- 55 See Reber 1998, 43 for ancient citations.
- 56 On the possible location of the Theseion, see, e.g., Hurwit 1999, 101; Shear 1994, 228; Bugh 1990, 20, 21–2 with further bibliography.
- 57 Cf. Shear 1994, 228.
- 58 Camp 1994, 10; Neils 1992, 18.
- 59 Athenaeus 9.402f. citing Mnesimachos, a Middle Comedy writer. See Ajootian 1998, 4–8; Camp (1994, 10), who posits this practice in the sixth century B.C.
- 60 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 145.
- 61 Cf. Ridgway (2005, 114), who argues for the rarity of cult images in bronze and points out the suitability of this medium for the image of Hephaistos in the Hephaisteion.
- 62 Kotsidu (1995, 100) takes this idea further and claims that the temple specifically addresses this group, and, citing Kraterinos 263 and Pherekrates 134, points out that the Kolonos Hill is where the workers received their wages.
- 63 Reber 1998, 46–7.
- 64 Cf. Bérard (1976, 111), who also suggests this possibility. On the Chalkeia, see Robertson 1985, 271; Simon 1983, 38–9; Deubner 1956, 35–6, who cites the *Suda*, Harpokration (Phanodemus *FGrHist* 325F 18), and *IG* 2² 674, 16, *IG* 2² 930, 3, and *IG* 2² 990, 2. Kotsidu (1995, n. 53), cites modern scholars who claim that the Chalkeia was celebrated on the Akropolis and that Hephaistos was added to Athena Ergane as an object of veneration only later. On Athena Ergane, see Consoli 2004; Hurwit 2004, 27–34; Ridgway 1992.
- 65 On the passage of Sophokles and the association of the *liknon* with Athena Ergane, see Bérard (1976), who believes that a fragment of an Attic red-figure neck amphora of c.485–455 B.C. attributed to the Pan Painter, which was dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis, depicts the Chalkeia; Deubner 1956, 36.
- 66 Simon 1983, 38–9.
- 67 According to Kotsidu (1995, 101 and n. 53), Athena Hephaisteia is first mentioned in *IG* II² 223 of the mid-fourth century B.C. but the name appears as a votive dedication on a terracotta plaque (Berlin, Antikensammlung 2759) of the late fifth century from Athens.
- 68 Cf. Plato (*Leg.* 11.921d–e), who refers to strategoi as craftsmen (δημιουργοί) of another sort, the former sacred to Athena and Ares, the latter sacred to Athena and Hephaistos.
- 69 I would like to thank Lucy Grig for suggesting this possibility to me.
- 70 Felten 1984, 60–4 followed by Simon 1998, 197–201; Delivorrias 1997b, 84, 89–90; Kotsidu 1995, 98–9; Knell (1990, 136–7), who sees the battle as an analogue for the Persian Wars (cf. Cruciani and Fiorini [1998], who argue that both friezes are mythological metaphors for the Battle of Marathon and the victory over the Persians).
- 71 Müller 1833, followed by Harrison (2005, 121–3), who identifies Hephaistos as V, 24 seated among the gods; Reber (1998, 41–3), who views the theme as a mythological analogue of the expulsion of the aristocracy, tyrants, and anti-democratic elements by the people; Neils 1987, 126; and Thompson 1962. Dörig (1985) sees the subject of the frieze as a fight between Athenians and Thracians with stone-throwing opponents signifying an earthquake.
- 72 See Dörig 1985, 67–73 for a summary of views with bibliography and an interpretation of his own.
- 73 *LIMC* 7, 935–936, s.v. Theseus [J. Neils].
- 74 For the exomis, together with literary citations for it, see Serwint 1993, 416–417. For the cult statue, see Harrison 1977, 146–150.
- 75 Dörig 1985, 69. If an earthquake is intended by these rock-throwers, a metaphorical reading that may be too far-fetched for this period of time, it might be worthwhile considering one inspiration: earthquakes in 426 (?) in Athens, Euboia, and Boeotia (Thuk. 3.87. 3.89), which were apparently devastating. Coming on the heels of a two-year plague, which, according to Thuk. 3.87, reduced the hoplites by 4400 and the cavalry by 300 (not to mention the thousands of other civilians) in the midst of a war, must

have seemed like the end of the world. Earthquakes forced the Spartans to turn back from invading Attika in 426 (?), and produced a tidal wave in Euboia. Earthquakes near the island of Atalante (note the resemblance to the name Atalantis) near Opuntian Locris produced a tidal wave that destroyed an Athenian fort and destroyed two ships tethered to the shore (Thuk. 3.89). Earthquake damage in Athens *c.*425 is confirmed by the archaeological record – a massive amount of pottery in a deposit from *c.*425 found in the Athenian Agora; part of the northeast corner of the Parthenon, including almost 1/3 of the east side, moved 2.5cm to the north, which required repairs; and damage was also done to building Z in the Kerameikos and to the Themistoklean wall. See Rotroff and Oakley 1992, 51–57. It is Poseidon, who is connected with earthquakes, at least on the mainland. Interestingly, it is Poseidon, who Plato (*Kritias* 113c) names as the god allotted to Atlantis (just

as Athena and Hephaistos were allotted to Athens); he was worshipped in a temple covered with silver and gold while all the rest, save a roof of ivory, was made of orichalcum, another metal, next in value only to gold (*Kritias* 114e, 116d).

- 76 Vidal-Naquet 1981, 207 certainly thinks Plato refers to the Hephaisteion in the Agora.
- 77 Cruciani and Fiorini 1998, 82; Wycherley and Thompson 1972, 149.
- 78 Shapiro (1998, 135) refers to the two gods as parents of Erichthonios, who, together with the child form a “holy family.”
- 79 Thompson (1962, 343) observes that the prominence of Athena and the similarity of combatants make it likely that this is a scene of civil strife.
- 80 Rome, Vatican 344 of *c.*540 B.C. *ABV* 145, 13, 686; *Paralipomena* 60; *Beazley Addenda*² 40.

Interpretations of the Ionic Frieze of the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion

Iphigeneia Leventi

The sculpted Ionic frieze of the Doric temple of Poseidon at Sounion was first noted by travelers in the seventeenth century.¹ The frieze has been the subject of archaeological research since the eighteenth.² The poor state of the Parian slabs and the fact that they were not found in situ but scattered in and around the east porch³ are the primary reasons why the sculptural and architectural problems of the temple have remained unresolved. Because of the uncertain position of the slabs and the enigmatic subjects of the frieze, it seems clear that further investigation is required. The following analysis is based on extensive autopsy with new photographs by Craig Mauzy and Dr. Klaus-Valtin von Eickstedt, as well as new drawings by Dr. Chrysanthos Kanellopoulos providing updated documentation. The surviving fourteen slabs of the frieze are kept in the Laureion Archaeological Museum; minor fragments are stored there and in Athens National Archaeological Museum.

The Sounion frieze is the earliest extant Classical Ionic frieze in Attica which can be securely assigned to a standing temple. The Doric temple of Poseidon had a sculpted Ionic frieze inside the porch, like the Hephaisteion in the Athenian Agora.⁴ The temple of Poseidon is dated to 444–440 B.C., when construction of the Parthenon on the Athenian Akropolis was in progress.⁵ It is intriguing that both the Parthenon and the Poseidon temple display strong Ionic features. Both replaced earlier, unfinished temples of the last decades before the Persian Wars which were damaged in the Persian invasion of Athens in 480 B.C. These new Classical temples incorporated members of the previous buildings in their high podium foundations,⁶ a foundation type rare in Classical Greek architecture.⁷

Stylistic assessment of the Sounion frieze is almost impossible on account of its weathered condition. The outlines of the remaining relief figures show that it must be earlier than the friezes of the Hephaisteion and the

Ilissos temple which both date to the 430–420 B.C.⁸ The turmoil in Athenian politics in the early years of the decade 450–440 B.C. also suggests that the construction of the Sounion temple and the carving of its Ionic frieze should not be earlier than the Thirty Years Peace between Athena and Sparta in 446/445 B.C.⁹ Since the Sounion temple, like the Parthenon, was constructed on top of a damaged predecessor in the Periklean era, it seems logical that its erection followed the inception of work on the most glorious monument on the Akropolis. The Ionic frieze of the Poseidon temple was probably carved almost simultaneously with the Parthenon metopes (447–442 B.C.).¹⁰ Many affinities in technique, composition and iconography between the two projects help to confirm this hypothesis. The frieze may have been made by an island (Parian) workshop,¹¹ as Athenian artisans were occupied with the major Periklean sculptural program.

The findspots of the slabs, as well as the Lesbian kyma along the top of at least three sides of the inner architrave of the east porch, suggest that the Ionic frieze ran around the entire east porch. This hypothesis was first proposed by E. Fabricius in 1884. His article was accompanied by drawings of thirteen slabs by E. Gilliéron père which are not always accurate.¹² Fabricius' placement of the frieze accords well with the presence of three different scenes: (A) the Gigantomachy, (B) the Thessalian Centauromachy and (C), Theseus' deeds. These identifications of the scenes were also established by Fabricius.¹³ It is worth pointing out, however, that the first identification of a subject on the frieze occurred in the seventeenth century and was made by J. G. Transfeldt in his *Examen reliquiarum antiquitatum Atheniensium. Disc. I cap. 5... Descriptio promontorii Sunij* (fol. 35 v.). He recognized on A2 (Fig. 11.1)¹⁴ Athena and Poseidon contesting for the land of Attica. This notion was based on the assumption that the temple belonged to Athena Sounias, an idea which was held till the end of



Fig. 11.1 A 2: Sounion frieze slab. Athena in the Gigantomachy. Laureion, Archaeological Museum 1219ΣΤ. Photo: Craig A. Mauzy.

the nineteenth century, since Pausanias (1.1.1) names only one temple, that of Athena Sounias on top of the Sounion promontory. The iconographic themes of the frieze were further recognized by the Society of Dilettanti in 1797, by Ross in 1848 (who both identified the Centauromachy), by Lange in 1881 (who identified the deeds of Theseus and provided preliminary drawings of some slabs) and finally by Furtwängler in 1882 (who added the Gigantomachy).¹⁵ Lange and Furtwängler identified the subjects on the basis of the composition outlines and comparing these with vase paintings and other architectural sculptures. Soon after, Fabricius gave a full account and firmly connected the slabs to the architecture of the building in 1884. In 1941, Herbig published a more detailed account of the frieze with photographs by H. Wagner and tackled the problems of style and chronology. He accepted Fabricius' views regarding the position of the frieze inside the east porch and its three subjects, but he was cautious as to the identification of specific mythological scenes on the most heavily destroyed frieze slabs.¹⁶

While the position of the Ionic frieze within the east porch is largely accepted in recent architectural studies, the question of iconography remains problematic. Indeed, in general accounts of the frieze, scholars still accept the view expressed by Felten in 1984 and 1987 that the frieze showed only two subjects: a Centauromachy and the Calydonian boar hunt. As a result, the relief friezes have been tentatively placed above the entrances of the pronaos and opisthodomos, reaching to the side colonnades only on the pronaos front, exactly after the pattern of the Ionic friezes on the Doric temple of Hephaistos in the Athenian Agora.¹⁷

The length of the slabs of the Sounion frieze is between 1.10 and 1.33m, their maximum height 0.84m. Their depth ranges from 0.33m to 0.45m, if we take account of parts of the figures carved in the round. The Sounion frieze is one of the thickest Attic relief friezes.¹⁸ The figures were embellished with additions in bronze (weapons), marble

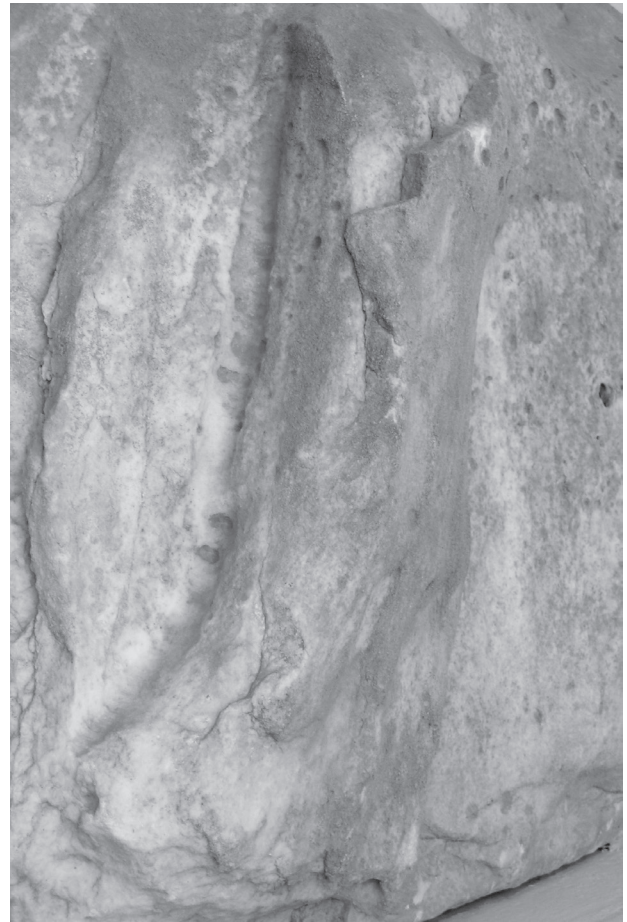


Fig. 11.2 A 2: Sounion frieze slab. Athena in the Gigantomachy. Detail. Laureion, Archaeological Museum 1219ΣΤ. Photo: Author.

(genitals) as well as lead (locks on the nape of warriors)¹⁹ as attested by surviving holes.²⁰ The drill was used to sharply define the outlines of the high-relief figures by separating them from the background. The drill is also evident in the form of a series of wholes or channels (e.g. on the slabs **A1**, **A2**: Fig. 11.2, and **B2**).²¹

The Thessalian Centauromachy can be recognized on slab **B1** (Figs 11.3, 11.4) where Kaineus is pounded into the earth by two Centaurs pushing a boulder over him.²² The hero tilts to his right, raising his shield protectively with his left hand. A sword hangs on his left side. This slab was also recorded in an unpublished drawing by Fauvel in Paris, Bibl. Nat. Mss. Français 22877, 1,102, verso, but not very accurately.²³ On **B2** (Fig. 11.5), the best preserved slab of the frieze²⁴ a spectacular Lapith with his body partially covered by a chlamys pulls a Centaur's hair while striking him with the sword once held in his right hand. The Centaur was previously thought by Delivorrias and Felten to have held a Lapith woman,²⁵ but both his arms must have had an upright position; the Centaur is concentrating all his power in order to repel his opponent. So far we cannot prove that the Centauromachy included Lapith women. Delivorrias has attributed a fragment



Fig. 11.3 **B 1**: Sounion frieze slab. Kaineus' death. Laureion, Archaeological Museum 1219B. Photo: Craig A. Mauzy.



Fig. 11.4 **B 1**: Sounion frieze slab. Kaineus' death. Laureion, Archaeological Museum 1219B. Drawing: Dr. Chrysanthos Kanellopoulos. Original drawing: 1:5.

(Athens, NM 4805) of a draped woman with the legs of Centaur on her right thigh to this frieze. The group, however, seems to belong to a smaller-scale rape scene of the late fifth century.²⁶ On the other hand, there is no proof that the identification of the victorious Lapith on **B2** must be Theseus, even if he does remind us of the figure in Parthenon South metope XXVII, where some scholars also recognize the Attic hero.²⁷ Slab **B3** shows a

Centaur grabbing a Lapith's upper arm.²⁸ The last slabs that we can assign to the Centauromachy are **B4** and **B5** (also shown in the unpublished drawing by Fauvel), and both preserve only a Centaur.²⁹

The key slabs for the recognition of other scenes on the frieze are **A4** (Fig. 11.6) and **C1** (Fig. 11.7).³⁰ On **C1**, Felten identified Theseus raising his club over the Calydonian boar. This identification was based on later



Fig. 11.5 B 2: Sounion frieze slab. Centauromachy. Laureion, Archaeological Museum 1219Γ. Photo: Craig A. Mauzy.



Fig. 11.6 A 4: Sounion frieze slab. Herakles and Eros in the Gigantomachy. Laureion, Archaeological Museum 1219Z. Photo: Craig A. Mauzy.



Fig. 11.7 C 1: Sounion frieze slab. Theseus and the Marathonian bull. Laureion, Archaeological Museum 1219M. Photo: Craig A. Mauzy.

depictions of this mythical hunt on the frieze of the heroon from Gjölbaschi-Trysa in the KH Museum, Vienna (*ca.* 370 B.C.), on Attic vase painting from the mid-fifth down to the fourth century B.C. and, finally, on Roman sarcophagi.³¹ On the basis of iconographic parallels, the same scholar put **A4** to the left of **C1** and recognized from left to right, Atalante shooting the boar, Ankaïos fallen wounded in front of her and Meleager retreating to the left but turning back to the right, ready to hit the wild animal with his spear. Felten, helped by Hoffelner and based on the 19th-century drawings of the frieze by Gilliéron, reconstructed a seven-slab Calydonian boar hunt in the back porch of the temple, over the opisthodomos front.³²

But Felten's reconstruction cannot stand up to criticism. For example, the man standing behind the animal on **C1** tries to control it and not to hurt it. On the slab, we can clearly see that the man moves to left, but turns back with his upper body and catches the beast's body with both arms lowered. The position of the man's left hand on the back of the animal, makes it highly unlikely that this could be a boar bearing the thongs on this point. The figure on the right fragment of the same slab could hardly have belonged to a human figure, another hunter as Felten suggested, but rather shows the outstretched back legs, and the upright back portion and tail of a large animal which took up almost the whole length of the slab. This could well be a bull. The subject is best identified as Theseus with the Marathon bull, as earlier scholars had recognized

(Lange, Fabricius). The scene probably show Theseus having just bound the beast, as graphically reconstructed by Dörig.³³ That the animal on **C1** was indeed huge may have been evident in its original condition, while now most of its voluminous body is broken off. In the ancient tradition, the Marathon bull was a terrible beast and the huge animal body on the slab would have emphasized this trait. The join between the two fragments of this slab in the Laureion Museum does not show a perfect fit and this exaggerates a little the actual length of the monstrous animal.

Thus, on **C1** Theseus is shown binding the Marathon bull and attempting to drag it to the Akropolis for sacrifice. Through this particular Athenian deed, Theseus proved his identity as a genuine son of the Aigeus, the king of Athens, and laid claim to his royal inheritance. We may think that Aigeus was present on the scene, as he is in Athenian vase painting of the 2nd half of the fifth century B.C. A bearded man in a himation standing to right on the fragmentary slab **C2** – drawn by Blouet 1838, pl. 33, fig. 1 and now lost³⁴ – could be Aigeus standing in front of the bull (Fig. 11.8) as he appears in the Madrid bell-crater by the Painter of Munich 2332 (*ca.* 430–420 B.C.; Fig. 11.9).³⁵ Aigeus on the Sounion frieze may have had a pendant on the other side of the central scene: a female figure, most probably Medea who provoked this encounter of Theseus with the monstrous bull in the hope that the hero would be killed. Aigeus and Medea are



Fig. 11.8 Lost Sounion frieze slabs **C2** (Aigeus) and **A7** (Poseidon in the Gigantomachy). Drawing after Blouet 1838, pl. 33, fig. 1. Photo after Delivorrias 1969, pl. 64,2.



Fig. 11.9 Red-figure bell-krater. Madrid, Archaeological Museum 32.679. 430–420 B.C. Theseus and the Marathonian bull. Photo: Archivo Fotográfico. Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

shown in a symmetrical composition of the same scene in vase painting which may be connected to Sophokles' or Euripides' *Aigeus*.³⁶

There are additional problems with Felten's reconstruction of the scene. These manifest on **A4**. Here, the so-called Meleager has his back turned on the presumed attacking boar. This makes little sense since the iconographic tradition for this hero in the hunt is to attack the beast face to face. This is shown, for example, on a 'Melian' relief in Berlin, Staatliche Museen TC 5783 (ca. 440 B.C.).³⁷ Most importantly, however, Theseus' presence is not canonical in the Classical version of this myth, with one exception, the east pediment of the Athena Alea temple, where Pausanias (8.45.6–7) names him. This observation, however, was probably based on monuments of the Roman times in which Theseus was thought to be the man raising his club behind the Calydonian boar.³⁸ Moreover, the Calydonian hunt was not popular in Athens when the Sounion temple was constructed; the non-Athenian myth does not seem a plausible theme for architectural sculpture in Periklean Athens. On the other hand the mythical encounter of Theseus and the Marathon bull is one of the two of the hero's Athenian deeds, which together with his five Isthmian deeds become standard in Attic art of the mid-fifth century in the cycle-cups and on the Hephaisteion metopes.³⁹

The composition of Theseus and the bull in **C1** is innovative in comparison to the archaic iconographic tradition of the binding motif. Here, the hero betrays

signs of the Classical iconography of the theme with the dragging of the bull to Athens, although without full correspondence to the vase painting version.⁴⁰ The choice of Theseus and the bull of Marathon episode for the decoration of the Sounion frieze, rebuilt after the Persian destruction, had plausibly anti-Persian connotations and may have been meant to symbolically recall the great Athenian victory at Marathon in 490 B.C. and Theseus' role in it as recounted in mythical tradition. The possible inclusion of the barbarian Medea in the scene may have also served as a negative allusion to the Medes – the hated enemy of fifth-century Athens.⁴¹ More explicitly, a myth underlining the political heritage of Theseus in Athens would have made a perfect sense here since the Athenian hero was also the son of Poseidon, the god to whom the temple belonged and the patron of the Athenian navy.

The above relationship could have been stressed by narrative symmetry on the Sounion frieze, if two other mythical episodes completed the Theseid displayed there. Both could be the deeds from Theseus' Cretan adventures: the traditional theme of the slaughter of the Minotaur and the encounter of Theseus with his divine father Poseidon in the sea god's underwater palace. A male torso in the Laureion Museum 646 (**C4**)⁴² which seems to belong to the frieze, shows a nude warrior lunging to the left. He wears a sword belt, as attested by two holes on the right part of his lower chest. This could tentatively be identified as Theseus having just slaughtered the Minotaur with his sword. His movement to the left might then be understood



Fig. 11.10 Red-figure calyx-krater, Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2891. 460–450 B.C. Herakles in the Gigantomachy. Photo after Faccenna 1954, pl. XCV.

as his dragging the monster out of the Labyrinth, as shown in Attic vase painting of the 430s B.C.⁴³ The mythical liberation of the Athenian youths by Theseus may well have echoed the role of the Athenians in the First Delean League, as Liberators of the Greeks against the Persians in the Aegean.⁴⁴

Finally, the fragment of a slab published by Fabricius in 1884, and since lost, (C3), shows a bearded man in a falling position.⁴⁵ This figure should probably be identified as Skiron being pushed off a rock by Theseus; the figure is probably not a falling Centaur as suggested by Felten.⁴⁶ The same subject was portrayed in an akroterion from the Royal Stoa in the Athenian Agora, dating to *ca.* 440 B.C., reported also by Pausanias (1.3.1). Skiron, a Megarian hero, may have stood for the traditional foes of the Athenians.⁴⁷

If slab A4 (Fig. 11.6) does not show a scene from the Calydonian boar hunt, could it have represented a Gigantomachy scene as all previous scholars, except for Felten, have supposed?⁴⁸ The archer on the left is usually taken for a female figure, Artemis or even Athena. This last identification was suggested by Prof. L. Beschi, based on two drawings of this slab by L.S. Fauvel (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Estampes Gb15b f. 67 and Paris, Bibl. Mss. Français 22877, 1,102, verso).⁴⁹ Both of these drawings seem inaccurate, however; there are discrepancies between them and they do not correspond to the extant sculptural remains. For example, the stance of the male figure on the right of the second drawing does not match the physical

remains at all. This makes one suspect that the helmet of the Athena is an addition of the draftsman. In fact, the standing archer on the slab A4 may be male, not female. What seems to be the pleats of a long garment may be recognized as the broken surface of two superimposed wings of a figure of Eros kneeling before him much like the left Eros on the Attic pyxis in Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum L 541 (*ca.* 430 B.C.).⁵⁰ A male archer turned to the right can only be Herakles who fights against the Giants in Attic vase painting from the first half of the fifth century; a good example can be on the Niobid Painter's calyx-krater in Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2891 (460–450 B.C.; Fig. 11.10).⁵¹ The Eros kneeling to the right was also portrayed as an archer, his left, bow-arm is outstretched and is covered by a falling mantle. The combination of these two deities fighting against the Giants finds the best parallel on Parthenon east metope XI in a slightly different composition.⁵² A fighting Eros occurs already in Athenian vase painting just after the Persian Wars. He is first depicted as an archer on a cup by the Brygos Painter in Texas, Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum AP 84.16 (*ca.* 490 B.C.) and he shows up as a military trumpeter on a lekythos in Vienna, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Klassische Archäologie, Archäologische Sammlung 526a, by Douris (*ca.* 480 B.C.; Fig. 11.11).⁵³ This latter vase shows the same pose as the Sounion Eros, but inverted. Eros as an archer fighting side by side with Herakles appears for the first time on Parthenon east metope XI and possibly the Sounion



Fig. 11.11 Red-figure lekythos. University of Vienna. Institut für Klassische Archäologie 526a. ca.480 B.C. Eros. Photo: Universität Wien. Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Archäologische Sammlung.

frieze slab **A4**. In these scenes, Eros represents a cosmic force contributing to the victory of the gods against the hubris of the Giants. Moreover, his sudden appearance in Athenian architectural sculpture in the decade 450–440 B.C. reflects his early Classical anti-Persian connotations and, interestingly, coincides with a refurbishment of his sanctuary on the North Slope of the Athenian Akropolis, as I argued elsewhere.⁵⁴

Athena fighting against the Giants has been recognized on **A2** (Fig. 11.1) where she fights without a fully outstretched aegis as in her traditional type in this battle. A comparable example is Athena on an earlier pointed amphoriskos in Brussels, Mus. Roy. R 303, (ca. 460 B.C.), by the Syleus Painter and on the Parthenon east metope IV.⁵⁵ The female figure rushing forwards on the Sounion slab does not fit with Felten's reconstruction of a terrified Lapith woman moving backwards.⁵⁶

The warrior fighting to right on **A1** with a helmet and a huge round shield may well be Ares (Fig. 11.12), who fights in the Gigantomachy for example on the Parthenon east metope III and on the red-figure cup by Aristophanes in Berlin F 2531 (410–400 B.C.).⁵⁷ Here, a sword once hung on his left side; he held a spear in his right hand diagonally over his body. Ares is portrayed usually nude and with a beard in Attic Gigantomachies of the second half of the fifth century. A good example can be found on the Aristophanes cup and a pelike in Athens, NM 1333 (425–400 B.C.) painted in the manner of the Pronomos Painter.⁵⁸ These iconographic examples are very close to the warrior figure on **A1**.

The horses of a four-horse chariot are shown on slab **A3**.⁵⁹ The lack of crowded fighting figures around the chariot shows that the Sounion Gigantomachy was the new Classical type, known from the Parthenon east metopes, where goddesses drive the chariots on which gods arrive at the battlefield.⁶⁰ The Sounion chariot may have belonged to Poseidon or Zeus, and should probably be combined with the peplos figure **A6**.⁶¹

The prominent figure in the drawing of a second slab (plate 33, fig. 1, of Blouet 1838; Fig. 11.8) **A7**, may indeed be the temple's deity, Poseidon.⁶² The god would have been shown with his trident in his lowered right hand while he stretches his left arm out to grab the Giant Polybotes who attacks with both arms raised over his head. Between the two naked opponents, the rock on which Poseidon steps should be understood as the legendary Nisyros, which he will soon use as a fatal weapon to bury the Giant. Thus, Poseidon is shown in the moment before the dramatic climax of this fight on the Sounion frieze. This moment is very similar to Parthenon east metope VI and is also popular in Attic vase painting of the second half of the fifth century B.C.⁶³ Finally, the so-called Stais slab (**A5**), a Giant fallen to right on his once upright shield,⁶⁴ may be the last figure of the Sounion Gigantomachy.

The three themes adorning the Sounion frieze accord well with the architectural evidence mentioned. The temple had an internal frieze running around the four interior walls of the east porch. The Gigantomachy can be assigned to



Fig. 11.12 A I: Sounion frieze slab. Ares in the Gigantomachy. Laureion, Archaeological Museum 1219. Photo: Craig A. Mauzy.

the pronaos entrance wall, the Centauromachy should be placed opposite of it, while a selection of Theseus' deeds may be placed on the sides.⁶⁵ This solution seems to be a variant on the distribution of the sculptural decoration on the east porch of the Hephaisteion. On the other hand, the confinement of the Ionic frieze to the interior of the east porch of the Sounion temple (with the deeper west porch deprived of any sculptural adornment) hints at the influence of the Parthenon and its predecessor, which both seem to have had an additional sculptured frieze on the pronaos front.⁶⁶ In fact, the position of the Ionic frieze of the temple of Poseidon on all four sides within the east porch is just as uncanonical as occurs in the other Classical Doric temples built by Athenian architects which all show great variety in the placement of their Ionic friezes. The Hephaisteion, the Parthenon and the temple of Apollo at Bassai adopted different solutions to the problem. As to the question of visibility raised especially for the Ionic frieze inside the east porch of the temple of Poseidon,⁶⁷ we may point out that the Parthenon frieze was obscured by the temple's colonnade, and that the interior frieze of the Apollo temple at Bassai was barely visible in an inadequately illuminated cella. The latter offers a further parallel to the Sounion frieze's placement by forcing the viewer to walk backwards in order to see the central scene of the Amazonomachy with Herakles and Hippolyte above the entrance side of the temple.⁶⁸

The themes of the Ionic frieze of the Poseidon temple, appropriate to the deity worshipped herein, also reflect the new symbolism that traditional mythological subjects may have assumed in Athens during the High Classical

period. Both the Gigantomachy and the Centauromachy are archetypal battles that serve after the end of the Persian Wars as mythical parallels for the ongoing opposition between Athenians and Persians. This is most spectacularly witnessed in the Parthenon sculptural program, a monument built to be a great memorial for the Athenian victory at Marathon.⁶⁹ It seems plausible then, that both the Parthenon metopes and the Sounion Ionic frieze, two fairly contemporary groups of Athenian architectural sculpture, shared a similar symbolic content. This makes sense since the two temples belong to a common building program of restoring temples demolished in the Persian invasion of Attica in 480 B.C.⁷⁰

The presence of Herakles, Eros and Theseus on the Sounion frieze would also have hinted at Athenian military institutions. If indeed no raped Lapith women appeared in the Sounion Centauromachy,⁷¹ then the military aspect was just as dominant here as it was on the Hephaisteion west frieze. This moment of climax is different from that shown on the Parthenon metopes. This difference might be explained by the different locations of the two temples. Purely military iconography may have been confined to the Attic countryside, while multi-faceted iconography (including women, interior scenes, etc.) may have been more appropriate for the most representative temple of the Athenian *polis*. In both cases, however, the specific narrative elements seem elided; this left both programs open broader political symbolism involving multiple semantic levels.

Another point of interest is that the iconography of the Sounion frieze and the Parthenon metopes both exalt Theseus.⁷² This may show the diffusion of Kimonian subjects in official Athenian art into the Periklean period. In the 440's the Ionizing Doric temple of Poseidon at Sounion bears a relief frieze with ample anti-Persian symbolism providing thus on a monumental scale the iconographic instruments of the Athenian League's policy.⁷³ After the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, however, new themes gradually make their way into the traditional Attic architectural sculpture repertory, such as myths of autochthony and divine births as well as historical battle scenes, a procedure already initiated in the Parthenon pediments.⁷⁴ The Hephaisteion friezes, for example, retain the traditional Thessalian Centauromachy at the west side but show a remarkable transformation of the old-fashioned theme of the Gigantomachy on the front of the temple. Here heroes fight Giant-like opponents armed with rocks, whereas gods act as mere spectators in the battle. Regardless of whether the myth depicted is indeed Theseus' defeat of the Pallantidai – a myth appearing here for the first time – or some other mythical episode, the important is the deviation from the hitherto known mythical repertory.⁷⁵ The adoption of unfamiliar themes and iconography is what hinders modern interpretation of mythical themes on Athenian relief friezes of the time of the Peloponnesian war. Other examples are the Nike temple friezes (430–420 B.C.), illustrating historical or quasi-historical battles of the city's glorious past.⁷⁶ The

parapet frieze of the same temple has a fresh theme with an allegorical glorification of old and recent Athenian victories presented in the flamboyant Rich style,⁷⁷ possibly first created for victory monuments as such. Innovative themes depicted on the Ilissos temple friezes and finally on the Erechtheion frieze (409–406 B.C.) still remain obscure.⁷⁸ Last but not least sculptured friezes on post-Pheidian statue bases deal with myths of autochthony not only for the Athenians themselves but also for heroes and gods of the polis, an iconographic move beginning already with the birth of Pandora adorning the base of the Pheidian Athena Parthenos (ca. 438 B.C.) and finding an interesting equivalent in the depiction of the Spartan goddess Helen as an offspring of the Athenian goddess Nemesis on the base of the Rhamnousian Nemesis (430–420 B.C.).⁷⁹ This last image pushes the Athenian obsession with the idea of autochthony to its limits at a time of war thereby shaking the foundations of the traditional leading role of Athens in the Greek political scene.⁸⁰ The Ionic frieze of the temple of Poseidon at Sounion is thus one of the last “traditional” monuments before the appearance of radical new iconographic schemes in Classical Athenian architectural sculpture.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

- 1 J.G. Transfeldt, *Examen reliquarum antiquitatum Atheniensium. Disc. I cap. 5... Descriptio promontorii Sunij* (fol. 35 v.) in: Michaelis 1876, 105–106.
- 2 Society of Dilettanti 1797, 21; Society of Dilettanti 1817, 56; Blouet 1838, 17, 19, pl. 33, fig. 1; Lange 1881; Furtwängler 1882; Fabricius 1884; Herbig 1941; Dörig, 1958; Delivorrias 1969; Felten 1984, 45–47, 66–69, 139–142, pl. 45,3; Felten and Hoffelner 1987; Vian 1988, 200–201 no. 17 with fig.
- 3 Fabricius 1884, 338–339, pl. XVI. This findplace has been questioned by Plommer 1950, 92; Delivorrias 1969, 137; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 169–170 with nn. 5–6. Nevertheless the fact that the sima of the Poseidon temple was transferred in the first century B.C. in the Athenian Agora does not suggest a large scale destruction of the temple (see recently Goette 2000, 30–31), so that the relief slabs may have laid on the ground at both sides already then and have been transferred to the east by Blouet in the 19th century as Plommer surmised; cf. Delivorrias 1969, 136–137; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 169–170. This suggestion is moreover implausible since Blouet (supra n. 2) presented only two slabs of the Ionic frieze.
- 4 The traditional thesis of Dinsmoor 1940, 47; Dinsmoor 1950, 181–182, who attributed the Poseidon temple together with the Hephaisteion and the Ares temple in the Athenian Agora (originally the temple of Athena Pallenis: Goette 2000, 27 with n. 135) as well the Nemesis temple at Rhamnous to a common architect (“der Theseionarchitekt”) has been gradually revised in later scholarship: see Knell 1973, 112–114, who suggested a common Ionic architect for the Poseidon and Nemesis temple (“der Sunionbaumeister”), and finally Knell 1979, 64 and Goette 2000, 27 with n. 136, both assigning the architectural similarities to common practices in Athenian high Classical architecture.
- 5 Dinsmoor 1940, 47.
- 6 Temple of Poseidon: Goette 2000, 20, pl. 25, figs 46–47. Parthenon: Orlandos 1977, 87, 105, fig. 49.
- 7 For the podium see Orlandos 1977, 104–105; Korres 1997, 237; Goette 2000, 32, pls. 13, 23; fig. 43, 24; fig. 44.
- 8 Hephaisteion frieze: v. Bockelber 1979, 42–45 (430–425 B.C.); contra Delivorrias 1997, 95, (436–431); cf. Reber 1998, 32–33 (445–430). Ilissos temple frieze: Picón 1978, 67–81 and Krug 1979, 18–20, dated it to 430–420 B.C.; recently also Korres 2000, 29–31, suggests that the Ilissos temple is contemporary with that of Athena Nike. See also Palagia 2005, 178. The Nike temple is generally dated between 427/6 and 424/3 B.C.: Picón 1978, 72 with n. 103, 74–80; Brouskari 1999, 20 n. 11.
- 9 Meiggs 1972, 152–186.
- 10 Brommer 1967, 174–175. Also recently Schwab 2005, 160.
- 11 Already a Cycladic workshop has been postulated for the architecture of the temple: see recently Goette 2000, 30.
- 12 Fabricius 1884, especially 340–342, pls XVI–XIX.
- 13 Fabricius 1884, 343–344.
- 14 See supra n.1; Furtwängler 1882, 397; Fabricius 1884, 349–350 no. 7, pl. XVIII; Herbig 1941, 103–104, pl. 48; Felten 1984, 54, 56–57, 66–67, pl. 11,2; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 171, 175, 180, 183–184, Beil. 2; Beschi 1988, 145–146.
- 15 Society of Dilettanti 1797, 21; Society of Dilettanti 1817, 56; Ross 1848, 150–151 (cf. Goette 2005, 221–222); Lange 1881, 235, pl. IX; Furtwängler 1882, 397.
- 16 Herbig 1941, and esp. 108–111 (his incerta), pls. 42–53.
- 17 Already Blouet 1838, 17, suggested this position of the frieze; Felten 1984, 140; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, Beil. 1–2; hence Castriota 1992, 283 n.17; Goette 2000, 28–29; vgl. Ridgway 1999, 171 n. 16.
- 18 Note that the thickness of the Ionic frieze of the Periklean Parthenon exceeds 0.50m: Korres 1994b, 99 and Dr. Christina Vlassopoulou in Akropolis Museum (personal communication).
- 19 See slabs **A1** and **A5** (the so-called Stais slab): **A1**: Lange 1881, 234–235 no. E, pl. IX; Fabricius 1884, 347 no. 1, pl. XVII; Herbig 1941, 108, pl. 52; Delivorrias 1969, 142, Beil. 1; Felten 1984, 56, 66–67; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 175, 179, 181, 182–183, Beil. 2. **A5**: Stais 1900, 115–117 with n. 1 and fig.; Felten 1984, 56, 66–67; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 179, 181, Beil. 2.

- 20 For inserted genitals cf. Lapiths on the Parthenon south metopes: For example, S 2: Berger 1986, pl. 76, S 3: Berger 1986, pl. 78, S 6: Berger 1986, pl. 86. For additional hair locks in lead cf. Ohly 1976, 16–18, 20, 76–79, figs 6, 8–12, 67–68, 70, pls 1–3, 36, 38.
- 21 On this technique for relief figures known from the Archaic to Roman periods, see Adam 1966, 48–49, 53–56; Palagia 2006a, 256–258 and n. 56. On these slabs see below.
- 22 Lange 1881, 234 no. C, pl. IX; Fabricius 1884, 347–348 no. 2, pl. XVII; Herbig 1941, 98–100, pl. 46; Delivorrias 1969, 142, Beil. 1; Felten 1984, 48, 54, 66, pl. 11,1; Laufer 1985, 30, 37 no. R 2, pl. 16, figs 55.1–2; Felten and Hoffelner 179, 181, Beil. 2; Laufer 1990, no. 55.
- 23 Beschi 1988, 146 with n. 28. See Leventi 2007.
- 24 Lange 1881, 234 no. A, pl. IX; Furtwängler 1882, 396; Fabricius 1884, 348–349 no. 3, pl. XVII; Herbig 1941, 97–98, pl. 45; Delivorrias 1969, 132, 142, Beil. 1; Felten 1984, 54, 66–67; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 179, 181, 183, Beil. 2.
- 25 Delivorrias 1969, 132, 142, Beil. 1; Felten 1984, 67; Felten-Hoffelner 1987, 179, 181, 183, Beil. 2.
- 26 Delivorrias 1969 132–133 no. 3, pl. 59, Beil. 1; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 179 and 180 with n. 56. The group is stylistically close to the Erechtheion frieze relief figures (409–406 B.C.): Boulter 1970, pls 3,9, 14, 20. For the dating, Boulter 1970, 23.
- 27 Brommer 1967, 119, 239–240 no. S XXVII, pl. 217; Neils 1994, no. 274, pl. 664.
- 28 Lange 1881, 234 no. B, pl. IX; Furtwängler 1882, 396; Fabricius 1884, 349 no. 4, pl. XVII; Herbig 1941, 96, pl. 44; Delivorrias 1969, 142, Beil. 1; Felten 1984, 54, 66–67; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 179, 181–183, Beil. 2.
- 29 **B4**: Fabricius 1884, 352 no. 11, pl. XIX; Herbig 1941, 108–110, pl. 53; Delivorrias 1969, 137, Beil. 1; Felten 1984, 54, 66–67; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 179, 184, Beil. 2. **B5**: Paris, Bibl. Nat. Mss. Français 22877,1,102, verso.
- 30 **A4**: Furtwängler 1882, 396–397; Fabricius 1884, 351–352 no. 10, pl. XIX; Herbig 1941, 104–106, 109–110, pl. 49; Felten 1984, 49, 54–56, 68, pl. 12,1; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 173–174, Beil. 1; Beschi 1988, pl. 42,1. **C1**: Lange 1881, 234 no. D, pl. IX (left fragment); Fabricius 1884, 352–353 no.13, pl. XIX; Herbig 1941, 100–103, pl. 47.1–2 (Theseus and the Krommyon sow); Dörig 1958, pl. 66.1–2; Shefton 1962, 350 n. 85; Felten 1984, 48–54, 66–68, pl. 12,2; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 170–171, 175, Beil. 1.
- 31 Felten 1984, 54–57, pls 18.2, 19.1–4.
- 32 Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 172–178, 184, Beil. 1.
- 33 See supra n. 30. Dörig 1958, pl. 66,2, though he places the animal's head too low.
- 34 Vgl. Delivorrias 1969, 135, pl. 64,2.
- 35 Madrid, Archaeological Museum 32.679: *ARV*² 1163.45; Shefton 1956, 161–162, pl. 60,3; Kron 1981, no. 9, pl. 275.
- 36 Shefton 1956; Neils 1994, 936; cf. Kron 1981, 365.
- 37 Woodford and Daltrop 1992, no. 31, pl. 211.
- 38 Theseus' participation in the Calydonian boar hunt is first attested in Ov. met. 8.267–272 and 405–410; Hyg. fab. 173.2, but even there he is not credited with a major role in the event. See Neils 1994, 922. Theseus' participation in this mythical hunt in Classical Attic iconography is often suggested without evidence in modern scholarship: see Kleiner 1972, especially 12 and reconstruction fig. 6, no. A, followed by Schnapp 1997, 369–379; Barringer 2001, 154, 186. But cf. Woodford and Daltrop 1992, 430–431.
- 39 Neils 1987, 145.
- 40 Neils 1994, 940–943 (S. Woodford), 950.
- 41 Cf. Miller 1997, 28.
- 42 Delivorrias 1969, 131–132, 142, no. 2, pl. 58, Beil. 1; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 179, 182–183, Beil. 2.
- 43 Neils 1987, 146. For example cup, London Brit. Mus. E 84 (440–430 B.C.) by the Codros Painter: *ARV*² 1269,4; *Beazley Addenda*² 356; Neils 1994, no. 46, pl. 629 and cup in Madrid, Archaeological Museum 11.265 (420–410) by Aison: *ARV*² 1174,1; *Beazley Addenda*² 339; Neils 1994, no. 52=240, pl. 661 (S. Woodford).
- 44 Cf. Neils 1987, 147.
- 45 Fabricius 1884, 349 no. 5, pl. XVII; Herbig 1941, 103, pl. 47.3; Felten 1984, 54, 67; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 170, 175, 179, Beil. 2.
- 46 See supra n. 45.
- 47 Nicholls 1970, 120–123, 135, pl. 35; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 85; Neils 1994, no.121. For the symbolism of this encounter, see R. von den Hoff in: Flashar *et al.* 2003, 23–25.
- 48 See supra n. 30.
- 49 For Fauvel's already published drawing (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Estampes Gb15b f. 67): Beschi 1988, 146 with n. 30, pl. 42,2. For the unpublished drawing see supra n. 23.
- 50 *ARV*² 1133,196.1684; Hermary 1986, no. 388, pl. 629.
- 51 *ARV*² 602,24.1661; *Beazley Addenda*² 1301; Faccenna 1954, pls XCIV–XCV; Alfieri and Arias 1958, 41, fig. 34; Vian 1988, no. 311, pl. 140.
- 52 Brommer 1967, 207–208 no. O XI, pl. 71, who however recognized Apollo. Brommer identified Eros and Herakles on the O IX. Contra, Berger 1986, 67–68 no. O 11, pl. 64 (Herakles or Hephaistos); Schwab 1996, 84–85 n. 18, figs 1,3,6 (Herakles).
- 53 Hermary 1986, 935. Brygos Painter cup: Hermary 1986, no. 332, pl. 626. Douris lekythos: *ARV*² 447.272; Hermary 1986, no. 664, pl. 647.
- 54 Leventi 2006, 106–108. On this sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros, see recently Hurwit 1998, 41, fig. 34.
- 55 Parthenon O IV: Brommer 1967, 26–27, 200–201 no. O IV, pl. 49. Amphoriskos: *ARV*² 249,6; Vian 1988, no. 335, pl. 146. Already Furtwängler 1882, 397, has compared the scene on A 2 with Athena in the Gigantomachy on the metope of the Early Classical temple E in Selinous: Marconi 1994, 70–73 with figs, 147–149, no. W1 (inv. no. NI 3921D), figs 23–24.
- 56 See supra n. 14.
- 57 Parthenon east metope O III: Brommer 1967, 25, 200 no. O III, pl. 45. Cup in Berlin: *ARV*² 1318,1.1690; Vian 1988, no. 318, pl. 143; Bruneau 1984, no. 103, pl. 368.
- 58 *ARV*² 1337,8; Bruneau 1984, no. 104, pl. 369. See also the earlier calyx krater in Ferrara by the Niobid Painter (supra n. 51): Faccenna 1954, 271, no. 6, pl. XCVIII; Alfieri and Arias 1958, 41, fig. 34. Italian scholars identified Ares with the full armed bearded hoplite on this calyx crater, whereas he is rather the bearded figure with chitoniskos and small mantle next to Poseidon bearing the same garments as all the other gods and armed only with spear and helmet. On the other hand Giants on this vase painting are shown as fully armed warriors or wear an exomis. Cf. also Vian 1988, no. 311, pl. 140. Vian 1988, 258–259, noticed that Ares is portrayed without panoply from the second half of the fifth century, and is usually bearded with some exceptions like the Sounion frieze, but this is not right.

- 59 Furtwängler 1881, 397; Fabricius 1884, 350–351 no. 8, pl. XVIII; Herbig 1941, 93–96, pl. 43; Delivorrias 1969, 133, 142, Beil. 1; Felten 1984, 67–68; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 179, 181, Beil. 2.
- 60 Parthenon O V, O VII and O X (Amphitrite, Hera and Artemis): Brommer 1967, 27, 203, pl. 51, 29, 203 pl. 55, 32–33, 204, pl. 69, respectively.
- 61 Delivorrias 1969, 133 with n. 30, no. 4, pl. 64, 1, Beil. 1; Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 179, 181, Beil. 2.
- 62 Furtwängler 1882, 396; Fabricius 1884, 351–352; Delivorrias 1969, 135, pl. 64, 2.
- 63 Brommer 1967, 28 no. O VI, pl. 53; Brommer 1967, 201–203, 208 recognized, however, Poseidon on the metope O XIV: Brommer 1967, 38, pls. 77, 79. See for the right identification of Poseidon on O VI: Berger 1986, 62. For vase painting examples see the crater in Ferrara and the cup by Aristophanes (tondo): supra n. 51 and 57 respectively.
- 64 See supra n. 19.
- 65 Different themes on each side is a phenomenon based on a firm tradition for external relief friezes on all-four sides of a building that continues down to the late fifth century B.C. (e.g. Athena Nike temple). Cf. also Madigan 1992, 70.
- 66 Korres 1994b, 108, 114; Korres 2000, 4, fig. 2.
- 67 Goette 2000, 28–29; see also Hölscher, this volume.
- 68 See Madigan 1992, 76 fig. 8.
- 69 Castriota 1992, 134–143, 151–165, 174.
- 70 The Poseidon temple is not mentioned in ancient tradition (Plut. *Per.* 13.6–15) as a part of the Periklean building program. As a result it has not yet been accepted in modern scholarship as such: Boersma 1970, 66–68, 76–77, 81.
- 71 On the other hand rape scenes with Lapith women were accepted by Delivorrias 1969, 132–133, no. 3, pl. 59, 141–142, Beil. 1 and, Felten and Hoffelner 1987, 177–180, Beil. 2.
- 72 See von den Hoff in this volume.
- 73 Cf. Meiggs 1982, 205–219.
- 74 The birth of Athena in the east pediment is represented for the first time in sculpture, whereas the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the land of Attica is a rare myth first time appearing in iconography in the Parthenon west pediment: Palagia 1993, 18 and 41, respectively.
- 75 For the interpretation of the subject on the east frieze see recently, Reber 1998, 37–45, fig. 2. Cf. also Barringer in this volume. Other scholars recognize a Trojan battle with participation of Hephaistos: Felten 1984, 60–67; cf. Knell 1990, 136–138, figs 209–219.
- 76 See recently Harrison 1997. For the equation of historical and mythical battles in fifth-century Athenian thought, Herodotos 9.27: Harrison 1997, 117.
- 77 See recently Brouskari 1999; Simon 1997. For the temple's akroteria which amplify victory connotations, Schultz 2001, 18–40.
- 78 For the Ilissos temple subject see the suggestion offered by Studniczka 1916, 190–197, that an ancient myth of the rape of the Athenian women by Pelasgians in the festival of Artemis Brauronia is depicted. Eickstedt (1994, 106–108 with nn. 14–16, fig. 1) returns to the earlier interpretation of the rape of the Leukippids for the slab D. Cf. recently McNeill 2005; Palagia 2005, 177–184, both recognizing themes from the Trojan circle. On the Erechtheion frieze, see Boulter 1970.
- 79 On the divine births and autochthony themes in the decoration of friezes on the fifth-century cult statue bases see Palagia 2000; Kosmopoulou 2002, 111–135, 137–144, figs 94–104. For the meaning of the birth of Pandora on the Athena Parthenos base, recently Palagia 2000, 61. For a new interpretation of the Nemesis statue base frieze, see Palagia 2000, 62–68. Palagia (2000, 68–74) now contests the traditional identification of the subject on the Hephaisteion cult statues base as the birth of Erichthonios, and suggests rather an Athena's birth.
- 80 The myths of the autochthony of the Athenians are already exploited in Attic vase painting after the Persian Wars when the Delian League was founded: see Shapiro 1998.

Herakles at Olympia: The Sculptural Program of the Temple of Zeus

Hilda Westervelt

The Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia was established in the far western corner of the Peloponnese in a fertile and hospitable part of the country. Control of the sanctuary was the subject of bitter enmity between Pisa and Elis, the two regions bordering the area of Olympia. Following a struggle in which Elis was victorious, the sanctuary's most prominent structure, the Temple of Zeus, was built. The temple was built by a local architect, Libon of Elis, from limestone quarried in the region. It was of typical Doric design and on a grand scale. While the limestone was covered in stucco, the temple's tiles, gutter and sculpture were crafted of Parian marble shipped from the island of Paros at vast expense. The temple's traditional Doric plan was enlivened by the fine sculpture that decorated both of its pediments and its front and back porches. The themes represented in the pediments and metopes formed a comprehensive program of mythic subjects that were of significance to the region and to a broader, Panhellenic audience. An examination of the Centauromachy in the west pediment is the focus of this article, but relies on an understanding of the sculptural program as a whole.

The East Pediment: The Chariot Race between Pelops and Oinomaos

The east pediment (Fig. 12.1) is the better preserved of the two, although the subject matter is not common. It would have been difficult to identify were it not for Pausanias.¹ The traveler writes:

Regarding the sculpture in the gables: In front is represented the chariot race between Pelops and Oinomaos, just as it is about to begin; both are getting ready for the race. In the middle of the gable stands an image of Zeus. Oinomaos, wearing a helmet on his head, stands on the right of Zeus and next to him stands his wife Sterope, one of the daughters of Atlas. Then Myrtilos, who drove the chariot of Oinomaos,

sits in front of the horses; the horses are four in number. After him are two men. They are without names, but I suppose that they were commissioned by Oinomaos to take care of the horses. On the outermost edge, the Kladeos is lying. After the Alpheios, the Kladeos is the river most honored by the Eleans. On the left of Zeus are Pelops and Hippodameia, and the charioteer of Pelops and the horses and two men who are probably his grooms. And likewise, the gable goes down to a narrow point and there the Alpheios is represented. The name of Pelops' charioteer, according to the Troezenians, is Sphaerus; but the guide at Olympia told me that his name was Cillas.

The figures in the front gable are by Paionios, a native of Mende in Thrace; the figures in the back are by Alcamenes, a man of the same age as Pheidias and second only to him as a sculptor.

In the middle of the gable is the battle of the Lapiths against the Centaurs at the wedding of Peirithoos. In the middle of the pediment is Peirithoos himself. On one side of him is Eurytion, having snatched the wife of Peirithoos and Kaineus coming to the aid of Peirithoos. On the other side is Theseus warding off the Centaurs with an ax. One Centaur has seized a maiden, another Centaur has seized a blooming youth. It seems to me that Alkamenes portrayed these events having learned in the writings of Homer that Peirithoos was the son of Zeus and because he knew that Theseus was the great-grandson of Pelops. (5.10.6–8)²

Because of the care that was taken when the program of the Temple of Zeus was planned, it is necessary to examine the east pediment in order to understand the west. The details of the chariot race and the events surrounding it can be pieced together from a variety of literary sources. The Hesiodic *Ehoiai* (Hes fr 259a ed. Merkelbech-West) makes mention of the ill-fated race and lists some of the other suitors who have competed for the prize.³ In Pindar's first *Olympian Ode*, Pelops visits Poseidon to ask for his help



Fig. 12.1 Temple of Zeus at Olympia, East Pediment, Reconstruction. Photo after Ashmole and Yalouris, 1967, fig. 15.



Fig. 12.2 Temple of Zeus at Olympia, West Pediment, Reconstruction. Photo after Ashmole and Yalouris, 1967, fig. 16.

in winning the race. As a youth, Pelops was the *eromenos* of Poseidon and for this reason Poseidon gives him magic horses. He wins the race and marries Hippodameia and has six strong sons. Pindar does not give any of the unpleasant details that are prevalent in other versions, however. Both Sophocles and Euripides composed tragedies on the subject that are no longer extant.⁴ Apollodoros (ApE 2.4–9) says that Oinomaos is reluctant to give his daughter in marriage because he is in love with her himself. Furthermore, he received an oracle saying that he would meet his death at the hands of his son-in-law. Pherekydes, cited in the scholia to Apollonios of Rhodes, (AR 1.752=3F37a) names Oinomaos' charioteer Myrtilos a key player in the events. In this version of the myth, Hippodameia, who has fallen in love with Pelops, asks Myrtilos for his help in defeating her father in the race. Because he is in love with her himself, or because Pelops promises him half the kingdom (Hyg *Fab* 84), Myrtilos substitutes the lynchpins in his master's chariot wheels with pins made of wax. After the race is won and Oinomaos is dead (ApE 2.3–9), Myrtilos tries to collect his prize but is thrown into the sea by Pelops.⁵ As he dies, Myrtilos curses Pelops and his descendants and it is this curse that falls upon the houses of Atreus and Thyestes. Pausanias (6.21.10–11) names 17 doomed suitors who came before Pelops. He also notes, when describing the chest of Kypselos, that the horses of Pelops were winged (5.17.7).

The myth deals with various transgressions but one of the most prominent is that of marriage and the violations of its precepts. This can be further classified as a violation of *xenia*. The Greek marriage was an institution which had little to do with affection but much to do with business and social connections. Gifts were exchanged and a contract drawn up. If the woman did not produce

offspring, the husband had the right to return her to her family. Likewise, if she were mistreated in any way, the woman's family could take her back, along with her dowry. This legalized exchange of women was done to strengthen ties of friendship, to extend the family and to ensure the production of legitimate children. The result of a successful marriage was a stronger *oikos* that, in turn, resulted in a better *polis*. Oinomaos, by refusing to release his daughter to a husband and new home in the normal way, violates one of the most basic laws of *xenia*: the lawful exchange of women. In keeping his daughter to himself, either out of lust or fear for his life, Oinomaos avoids making connections with other families, thereby shutting out the friendly relationships forged with marriage ties. In lustfully keeping his daughter within his own household, he also commits a sexual violation of the normal relationship between a father and daughter and deprives the *polis* of legitimate offspring. In short, Oinomaos is among those who are "violators of human culture, foreign to proper exchange, [and] anti-marriage."⁶

Including the central figure of Zeus and the two river gods, there are thirteen human figures in the east pediment. On either side of the god stood a four-horse chariot team, though whether the chariots themselves were represented is not known. The organization of the east pediment's figures has caused endless discussion and reconstructions. The problem lies chiefly with the misleading description of the pediment by Pausanias who names the figures in relation to their position on either side of the central figure of Zeus. The difficulty lies in whether Pausanias, in designating right and left, meant it in relation to himself or the god.⁷ Pelops (figure G) and Oinomaos (figure I) have both suffered damage, particularly the figure of Pelops

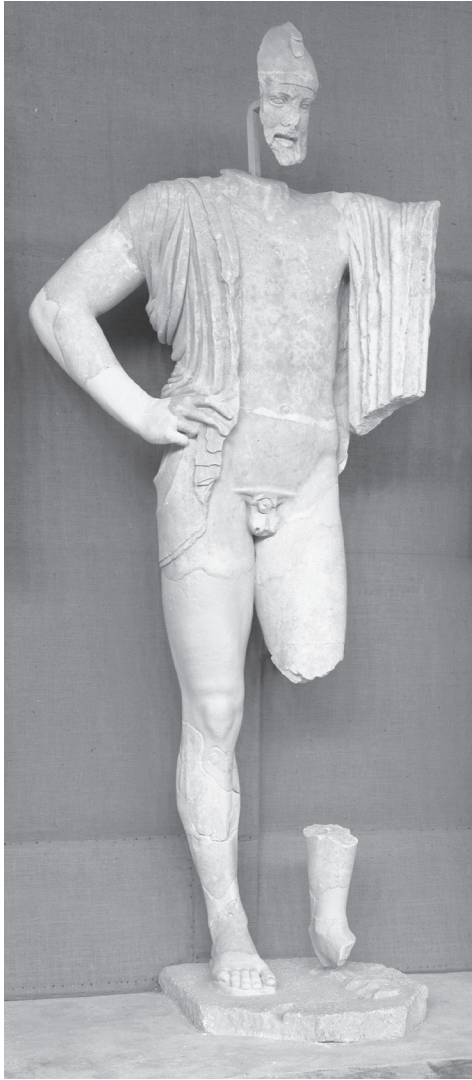


Fig. 12.3 Temple of Zeus at Olympia, East Pediment, Figure I. Alison Frantz Collection.

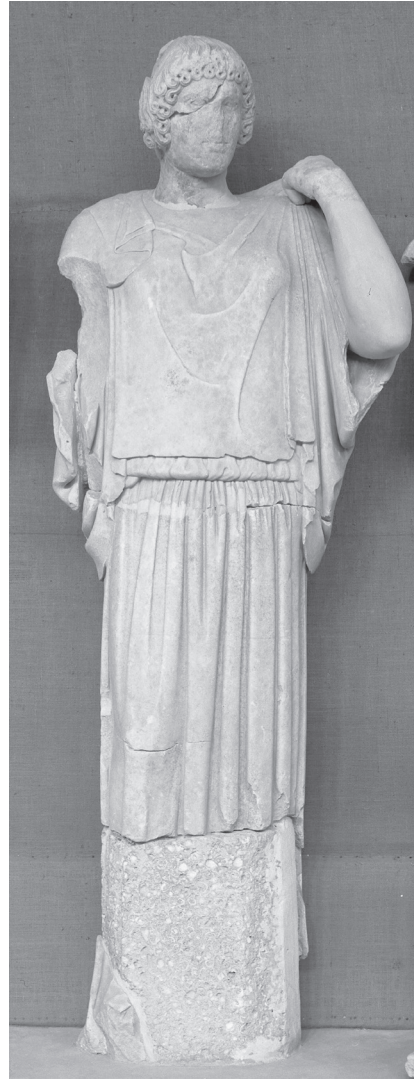


Fig. 12.4 Temple of Zeus at Olympia, East Pediment, Figure K. Alison Frantz Collection.

(Fig. 12.6). Enough of their heads survives, however, to distinguish the older, heavily bearded face of Oinomaos in contrast with the younger, lightly bearded Pelops. Both of the figures wear helmets, making Pausanias' comment that Oinomaos was helmeted seem an odd distinction.⁸ Oinomaos stands draped in a short mantle (figure I) while Pelops stands nude or in the bronze corselet added later.

Opinion is divided on which of the female figures is meant to represent the bride and which is her mother, Sterope. Figure F has little remaining of her head, but her body and pose are well preserved (Fig. 12.5). Her pose has been identified as one of anxiety or even mourning, perhaps foreshadowing the ruin that will result from the race.⁹ She is probably the mother of Hippodameia and wife of Oinomaos. Figure K is quite complete and wears a distinctive belted peplos. She also has her left hand raised to her shoulder where she plucks at her garment in a girlish gesture.¹⁰ It is therefore likely that she is the young bride Hippodameia (Fig. 12.4).

The main characters of the scene appear remarkably untroubled. Helmut Kyrieleis notes that the posture of Oinomaos (figure I) with his hand resting on his hip, generally interpreted as one of arrogance, is in fact one of relaxation.¹¹ Oinomaos knows that he has little cause for concern, confident in his magic horses and his success in the previous races. His relaxed bearing is in marked contrast to the alert demeanor of Pelops (figure G) who appears ready for the trial that is about to begin. This is in keeping with the mythic tradition which relates that Oinomaos gave the suitors a head start while he performed sacrifices to Zeus (Diod 4.73.1–6). Thus, while Oinomaos is still covered in his chlamys, Pelops stands stripped and ready to mount his chariot. The god himself stands between the contenders. The object of the action, Hippodameia herself (figure K), seems wholly carefree in the face of the forthcoming events. She stands erect, demurely fingering her veil in the gesture traditional to representations of brides.



Fig. 12.5 Temple of Zeus at Olympia, East Pediment, Figure F. Alison Frantz Collection.



Fig. 12.6 Temple of Zeus at Olympia, East Pediment, Figure G. Alison Frantz Collection.

Given the tension of such a moment, the preparation for the fateful chariot race in the east pediment reflects a nearly palpable stillness. Most of the participants appear unaffected by the drama that is about to unfold and observe the central group from relaxed sitting positions. A young boy plays absent-mindedly with his toes (figure E). Anxiety is expressed by only two of the figures: Sterope, the wife of Oinomaos (figure F) and the Old Seer (Fig. 12.7) (figure N). Jeffrey Hurwit has effectively demonstrated that it is the presence of the seer in the east pediment that helps set a tone of foreboding.¹² Figure N sits behind his master's chariot, leaning on a staff (now lost) with his hand to his cheek in a gesture of extreme alarm. His eyes are fixed and staring beneath his furrowed brow, as though at the sight of the disaster that will shortly occur. Sterope's gesture is further suggestive of alarm. Her right arm is tucked protectively close to her body beneath her breast while her left is clenched beneath her chin. She too seems to have a premonition of the misfortune to come

and reflects it in her guarded body language. Although she cannot predict the tragic outcome of this race for her husband, she has stood in this position many times before and watched young men go to their deaths.

It is not certain on what tradition of myth the Olympia sculptor based his representation in the east pediment. It is only the version given in Pindar's *Olympian* 1, however, that gives no hint of treachery plotted by either Hippodameia or Pelops. It is therefore certain that viewers would be aware of the duplicity that lay on both sides in most versions. Oinomaos was the obvious villain, but Pelops and even Hippodameia herself are not irreproachable. Because of their involvement, the destruction visible to the Old Seer would affect generations of their descendants as a result of the curse of the dying Myrtilos. Despite the tense stillness of these figures, there is violence inherent to the myth itself that would have made an impression on any viewer familiar with the story.

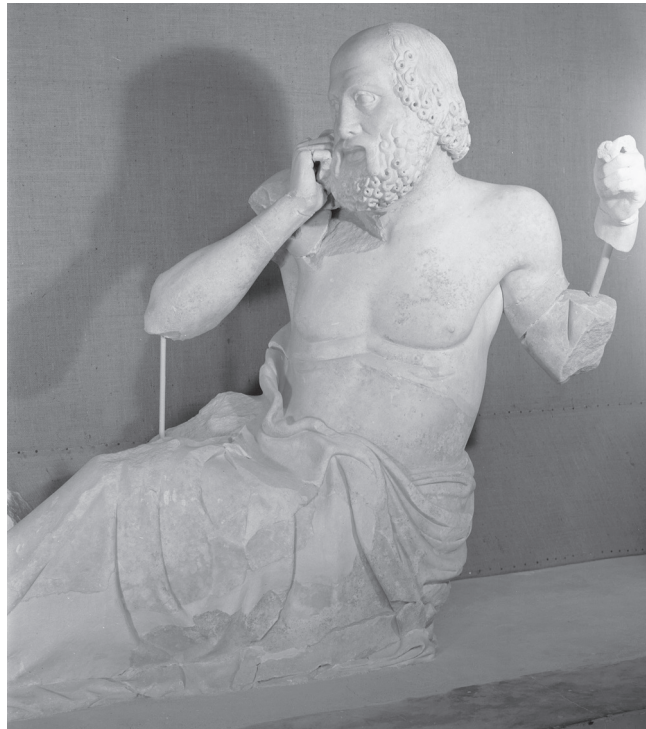


Fig. 12.7 Temple of Zeus at Olympia, East Pediment, Figure N, Old Seer. Alison Frantz Collection.

The West Pediment: The Centauromachy at the Wedding

In contrast to the latent menace of the east pediment, the frantic activity of the west pediment is almost a relief (Fig. 12.2). Here, the threat is far more evident and is manifested in the form of the Centaurs. Men are shown struggling with creatures who embody all that is uncivilized within themselves: the brutish inclination to seize and rape women who don't belong to them. These are proclivities that men of this new and enlightened age would be anxious to suppress. As in the east pediment, the figures of the west pediment are arranged around a formidable divine presence, the god Apollo (figure L).¹³ The statue itself, like its complement in the east pediment, stands far taller than the surrounding figures (Fig. 12.8). In his left hand there remains elements of an attribute that is thought to be a bow.¹⁴ His posture is erect and he turns his head sharply towards his right, following the direction of his outstretched arm. There have been a number of interpretations of Apollo's gesture.¹⁵ Blinkenberg thinks that Apollo is making a gesture of protection.¹⁶ Ashmole and Yalouris suggest that Apollo is intervening in the action and trying to bring it to a halt, but Tersini, who has examined the fragments that remain of the right hand of Apollo, interprets the gesture differently.¹⁷ Her examination revealed that the fingers of the hand were curled loosely against the palm except for the index finger which was extended in a pointing gesture.¹⁸ Thus, she argues, that as a guardian of *dike* and a hater of *hybris*, Apollo points his hand in the direction of those who are

committing injustices.¹⁹ Figures K and M are the primary heroic combatants of the battle, a fact that is accentuated by their back-to-back fighting pose and mirrored actions. Figure K has one arm raised as though wielding a sword, a pose that may be mirrored by figure M, who Pausanias tells us brandished an axe. There is very little remaining of figure K apart from his head and arms and a portion of his left leg (Fig. 12.9). Figure M retains a large portion his torso, an arm and both of his legs. His head is also well preserved and depicts a young man with a smooth cap of hair that was probably bound with a wreath or fillet (Fig. 12.10). Both heroes have drapery wrapped around their arms and legs.²⁰ Figure K comes to the aid of a woman being attacked by a Centaur whose head bears drill holes indicating that he once wore a crown or wreath.²¹ This is surely the Centaur Eurytion, and the woman he has seized must therefore be the bride (Fig. 12.11). I propose that Figure K is therefore the principal hero of the event and contrary to Pausanias' identification of the figure as the Lapith hero Kaineus coming to the aid of Peirithoos, he is Herakles, a hero known to protect women from Centaurs. Herakles, like Pelops, was one of the founding heroes of the sanctuary of Olympia and his appearance in the west pediment balances the appearance of Pelops in the east.

The Temple of Zeus in the center of the Panhellenic sanctuary of Olympia was begun shortly after Elis defeated its neighbor Pisa in 471/70 and regained control of both the region and the sanctuary itself. Because of the importance of the Olympic games, together with their domination of the sanctuary, the Eleans were assured of



Fig. 12.8 Temple of Zeus at Olympia, West Pediment, Figure L, Apollo. Alison Frantz Collection.

increased power, respect and revenue. The construction of the Temple of Zeus was a reflection of these recently acquired benefits and paid homage not only to the Eleians themselves, but also to Zeus, the patron god of Olympia, to Pelops, mythic founder of the region of the Peloponnese and to Herakles, Dorian hero of Panhellenic prominence. Both Pelops and Herakles were the heroes most honored at Olympia. Pelops is credited with founding the Olympic games in honor of the death of his father-in-law Oinomaos, slain in the chariot race waged for his daughter's hand. Pausanias related that Pelops was the hero most honored at Olympia, just as Zeus was the most revered of the gods (5.13.1). Herakles, who was venerated throughout the Greek world, had special ties to Olympia as well. He too is credited with founding the Olympic games,

as a compensation for the death of Pelops, his great-grandfather.

...and after him was Pelops; when he went to the Greek land, he then established a festival and contests for the dead Oinomaos; third after them Herakles, the son of Amphitryon, established a festival and games for the dead Pelops, the son of Tantalos, his maternal relative.

(Phlegon *FGrHist* fr 1, lines 30–34)

Pindar (*OI* 10) described how the hero created the sanctuary by clearing a space in the grove, laying out the boundaries of the Altis and establishing games in honor of his father, Zeus.²²

And then, Zeus' brave son gathered together the whole army and all the booty in Pisa,

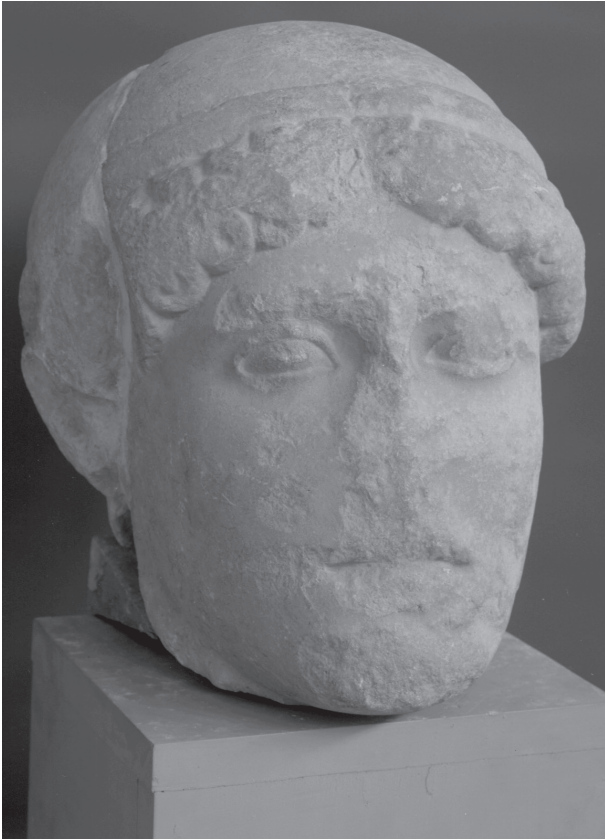


Fig. 12.9 Temple of Zeus at Olympia, West Pediment, Head of Figure K, Herakles. Alison Frantz Collection.

and he measured out a sacred precinct for his most powerful father.

He enclosed the Altis, and set it apart in the open
and he established the surrounding plain
as a resting place for banqueting,
honoring the stream of the Alpheos
along with the twelve ruling gods.
And he named the Hill of Kronos,
for before then it had no name, when, during Oinomaos' rule,
it was covered with much snow.

At the founding ceremony, the Fates stood nearby,
as did Time, the only one speaking the indisputable truth.
And going forward, he revealed clearly
how Herakles divided up the gift of war
offering up the first fruits and how he then
founded the quadrennial festival with the first Olympiad
and its victories.

(OI 10.43–59)

The poem describes how Herakles was not paid for cleaning the stables of Augeias and subsequently killed Kteates and Eurytos, the Aktoriones-Moliones. It is following his war with Augeias, the “guest-cheating king of the Epeians” that Herakles decides to build the sanctuary. Pindar also related how the hero, dissatisfied that there were no trees for shade, journeyed to the land of the Hyperboreans and brought back the olive trees that



Fig. 12.10 Temple of Zeus at Olympia, West Pediment, Figure M. Alison Frantz Collection.

today grow in such abundance in the sanctuary (OI 3). One of these trees stood at the west end of the Temple of Zeus and was considered sacred. The poet related that it is from these trees that the crowns for the victorious athletes were made.

...the grey-colored arrangement of olive
which once the son of Amphytrion brought from
the shady springs of Ister, as the most beautiful
memorial of the games at Olympia
(OI 3.12–15)

Because of the regional connections and the participation of Pelops and Oinomaos, the chariot race is therefore a natural choice as the subject of the east pediment.

Although Centauromachies had appeared in architectural sculpture before, the myth represented was commonly the battle between Herakles and Centaurs at the cave of Pholos. In the west pediment, the battle is one that has not, to our knowledge, appeared previously. The addition of women in the scene as the source of conflict may be new to architectural sculpture and indicates that the context of the battle is not that which took place at the cave of the Centaur Pholos. However, the fragmentary remains of a decorated cornice from the Archaic Temple of Artemis at Ephesos may be an earlier example of women present at a Centauromachy (Fig. 12.12). A. S. Murray's reconstruction drawing of the fragments is tantalizing, to be sure, showing a bent horse's knee resting on the ground and a human hand holding a branch above. There are further remains of a male's feet and head and the feet

and heads of at least two females.²³ There is insufficient evidence with which to identify the hero securely, but it is surely Herakles. The women standing nearby do not appear to be in any immediate peril from the Centaur and they may be goddesses or simply bystanders. Furthermore, there is nothing surviving to indicate that the context of the encounter was a wedding. Nevertheless, it is important that such a tableau with women present exists in the sixth century since it may indicate that a tradition in which women were rescued from Centaurs existed in architectural sculpture before the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus.

In the mythic tradition there are two known altercations between heroes and Centaurs that take place at a wedding celebration. Herakles rescues the daughter of Dexamenos, King of Elis, from the Centaur Eurytion during a wedding ceremony. In another version, Lapiths battle Centaurs at the wedding of their chief, Peirithoos. This latter version frequently features the hero Theseus as an ally to his



Fig. 12.11 Temple of Zeus at Olympia, West Pediment, Figures H and I. Alison Frantz Collection.

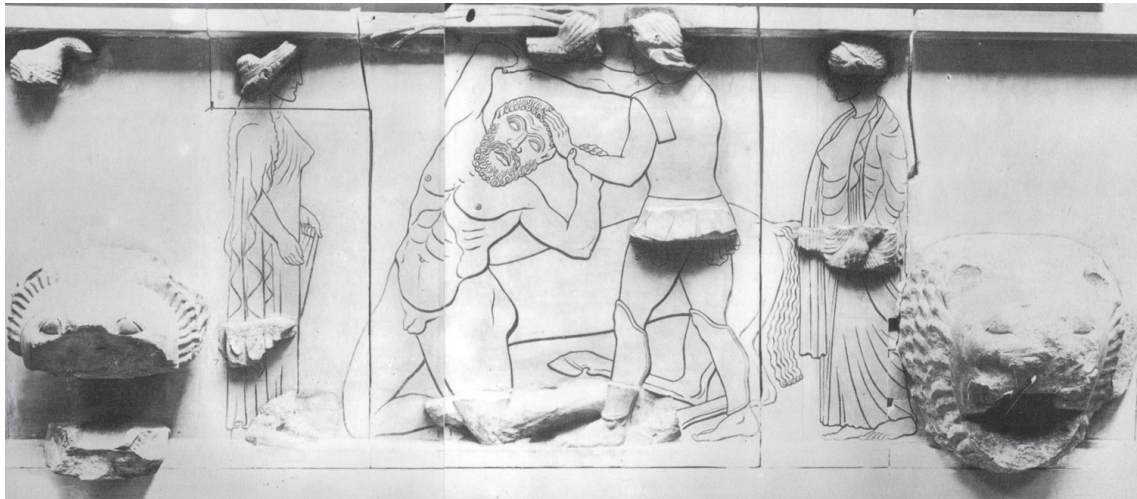


Fig. 12.12 Reconstruction (Murray) of sculpted Sima, Archaic Temple of Artemis, Ephesos, Hero battling Centaur with two females observing, ca. 550–540 BC. Photo after Muss 1994, fig. 57.

friend Peirithoos and takes place in Thessaly. Pausanias identified the altercation represented in the west pediment as the version in which Peirithoos and Theseus are the heroes. It is far more logical, however, that the battle represented is that which takes place in Elis featuring Herakles, a hero of great importance at Olympia. Not only is the hero honored, but the patrons of the temple, the Eleans, honor themselves by placing him in the context of a local story.

The construction of the Temple of Zeus provided an opportunity for the Eleans to venerate the gods and heroes most important to themselves and to the sanctuary while placing them within a context that would resonate locally as well as Panhellenically. This was achieved in several ways. First, the temple was dedicated to Zeus, the patron god of Olympia. Second, the two founders and eponymous heroes of the Olympic games, Pelops and Herakles, were chosen as the subjects of the temple's elaborate sculptural program. In the east pediment, Pelops is represented in the moments preceding the most important trial of his life, the chariot race between him and Oinomaos, king of Pisa, for the hand of his daughter Hippodameia. In the west pediment, the hero Herakles rescues the daughter of Dexamenos, king of Elis, from the Centaur Eurytion who wishes to take her as his bride by force. Each of these myths is a foundation legend for the establishment of the sanctuary and its games. Finally, Herakles appears again in the twelve sculpted metopes that decorate the front and back porches of the temple, carrying out the labors assigned to him by Eurystheus.

The identification of the subject depicted in the temple's west pediment has been a source of speculation in scholarship for many years. Although the suitability of the Elean Centauromachy as the subject of the west pediment is indisputable, a formidable opposition remains. Pausanias identified the scene as a different Centauromachy, the

battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs at the wedding of Peirithoos. While the theme of the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs is iconographically similar to the events portrayed in the west pediment, the myth and its participants have no strong connection to either the region or the sanctuary. This is in marked contrast to the subjects portrayed in the east pediment and in the metopes, both of which work well in tandem on a local and Panhellenic level. In her discussion of the temple's sculptural program, Nancy Tersini remarked "[i]n view of the remarkable stylistic uniformity of the pedimental sculptures and metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the apparent disunity of their themes is surprising."²⁴ Views such as this have long been the party line in discussions of the west pediment. Pausanias himself seemed to grasp at straws when he suggested that the choice of the Thessalian Centauromachy was made because of a genealogical link between Peirithoos and Zeus and Theseus and Pelops. Yet, with one exception, his identification has been universally accepted, despite misgivings voiced by many scholars. That the subject of Herakles and Eurytion in the house of Dexamenos might be the theme for the west pediment, however, was suggested in 1895 by Wilamowitz in his commentary to *Herakles Furens*.²⁵

Was dieser giebel darstellt, ist gänzlich ungewiss. Herakles ist nicht zu erkennen, die überlieferte deutung auf Theseus und Peirithoos verkennt notorisch eine hauptfigur und kommt offenbar nur daher, dafs eine Kentauromachie, auf welcher Herakles fehlt, die thessalische sein müfste. An diese in Olympia, unterhalb der Pholoe, zu denken, ist eine tollheit, zu der nur ein archaeologe kommen kann, der nichts von geschichte weifs. dargestellt ist die eleische Kentauromachie in der form welche Herakles erst verdrängt hat. Unmittelbar übrigens haben die leute von Phigaleia auf dem friese ihres Apollontempels dieselbe Kentauromachie verstanden, mochten auch die athenischen künstler eine andere gemeint haben.

This suggestion, that the Centauromachy depicted in the west pediment was set in Elis and featured Herakles, was not further investigated either by its author or anyone else. It certainly did nothing to further his cause that Wilamowitz later abandoned this theory in favor of another interpretation.²⁶ Furthermore, Wilamowitz was a scholar well known for his contempt of Pausanias, a fact that may have caused other scholars to reject his proposal as being little more than an anti-Pausanias rant. Nevertheless, he recognized the incongruity of the Thessalian Centauromachy in the Olympian sculptural program, theorizing that the Elean Centauromachy featuring Herakles was a better fit. Both of these observations are sound, regardless of Wilamowitz's opinion of Pausanias, and although he did not refer to it, there is ample evidence for the Elean Centauromachy in both Archaic vase-painting and in contemporary literature.

The Elean Centauromachy in Literature

Even before the Archaic period, a *topos* in both literature and art was that of a Centaur abducting a mortal woman. Since female Centaurs were not imagined until the painter Zeuxis created them in the early fourth century in his renowned painting of a Centaur family, Centaurs had to pursue mortal women if they wished to reproduce.²⁷ Those with manners went about this in a civilized way. Cheiron and the mortal woman Chariklo lived together and had daughters (Pindar, *Py* 4.102–5).²⁸ Those without manners, and this was the majority, tried to take their brides by force, most often choosing the brides of other men. In order to emphasize the theme of the mortal bride violated by a Centaur, the scene of the attempted abduction was often set in the context of a wedding celebration. The earliest reference to a Centaur who misbehaves at a feast can be found in the *Odyssey* (21.295–303), in which the Centaur Eurytion was thrown out of the house of Peirithoos and grossly disfigured because he did “bad things.” According to a scholiast to the *Odyssey* commenting on this passage, another Centaur named Eurytion appeared at a wedding feast in the Peloponnese. The scholiast relates that this story was told in a poem of Bacchylides:

Bacchylides considers his Eurytion a different one. For he says that Eurytion, having been entertained in Elis by Dexamenos, insolently laid hands on the daughter of his host and because of this was killed by Herakles, who by good fortune happened to be at the house.
(See Bacchylides ed. Snell-Maceler fr 44)

This passage probably refers to the following poem, fragments of which were recovered from a papyrus found at Oxyrhynchus. These fragments make up the speech of a distressed speaker who tells someone else that a Centaur has arrived uninvited at a feast and wants to take away his daughter to Malea as his bride. The speaker is unwilling to let him do so and the Centaur is angry. The reference to Malea clearly indicates that this is a myth of the Peloponnese. Furthermore, Malea is the location to

which the Centaurs fled, when driven from Mount Pholoe by Herakles and where Cheiron took refuge after he was driven from Mount Pelion by the Lapiths (ApB 2.5.4):

...at heart...again with violence...vexed...
nor did (he?) approach...; and he said this: “I am
grieved at heart...: uninvited (he came) to the
lovely feast, the Centaur whose bed is in the mountains...
and he asks me for my (slender-ankled?)
daughter, wishing to take her as his bride to Malea;
but to me (this is repellent), and since I am unwilling
(he threatens me) more harshly (saying?)...
‘(You) acted very foolishly; but I...you...Would
that...blameless...’”²⁹
(fr 66 *POxy* 2395 fr 1 = *PMG* 924)

This version of the myth resembles that which is related in full in Diodoros in which the daughter of Dexamenos (here named Hippolyte) is marrying a man named Azan.³⁰

After this Herakles, going back to the Peloponnese, made war against Augeas on account of his defrauding him of his reward. Having come to a battle with the Eleans, and having no success with it at that time, he returned to Olenos to the house of Dexamenos. His daughter Hippolyte was getting married to Azan, and Herakles, as he was a guest at the wedding feast, observing the Centaur Eurytion violating Hippolyte and being forceful with her, killed him.³¹
(Diod 4.33.1)

Another variant survives in Apollodoros. Here, it is the Centaur himself who is the groom, although Dexamenos is not happy at the prospect of having the Centaur as his son-in-law. When Herakles appears, the frantic father begs the hero to help him extricate himself from this sticky situation. Herakles obliges by killing Eurytion when the Centaur arrives to collect his bride:

...and Herakles went to Olenos to the house of Dexamenos. And there he found him on the point of betrothing his daughter Mnesimache, against his will, to the Centaur Eurytion and being called upon by Dexamenos to help, Herakles killed Eurytion when he arrived for his bride.
(ApB 2.5.5)

The mythographer Hyginus mentions the myth of Eurytion twice in his *Fabulae*. In *Fabula* 31, while relating the various victims of Herakles, the woman ravished by the Centaur Eurytion is named Deianeira:

...he killed the Centaur Nessos because he wished to violate Deianeira. He killed the Centaur Eurytion because he sought the hand of Deianeira, daughter of Dexamenos, his hoped-for bride.
(*Fab* 31)

Hyginus gives a more complete telling of the myth in *Fabula* 33:

When Herakles had come to the household of the king Dexamenos, and had violated his daughter Deianeira, and had given a pledge that he would marry her, after his departure, the Centaur Eurytion, son of Ixion and Nephele, sought the hand of Deianeira as his wife. Her father, fearing violence, promised to hand her over. When the appointed day arrived,

Eurytion came with his brothers for the wedding. Herakles stepped in and killed the Centaur and married his betrothed bride.

In the same way at another wedding, when Peirithoos was marrying Hippodameia, the daughter of Adrastos, the Centaurs, full of wine, tried to rape the wives of the Lapiths. The Centaurs killed many of them, but were destroyed by them.

(*Fab* 33)³²

The myth of Eurytion in the house of Dexamenos has some variation in its details. In every extant version of the myth the daughter has a different name (Hippolyte, Mnesimache and even Deianeira) and only the Bacchylides version takes place in Elis. The others are in Olenos, a city in nearby Achaia.³³ Yet the fundamental details of the Eurytion myth are always the same as those in Bacchylides: the Centaur Eurytion tries to abduct or marry the daughter of Dexamenos and Herakles kills him.

The Centauromachy at the wedding of Peirithoos and Hippodameia in Thessaly was an artistic “double” of the Centauromachy at the wedding in Elis.³⁴ In the pattern of Centauromachies, it is significant that it was the hero Herakles who rescued the daughter of Dexamenos, not only because he encountered and killed Centaurs frequently, but also because he was well known as the model on which the deeds of the Athenian hero Theseus were based, beginning in the sixth century. Ancient authors made connections between the myth of Eurytion and Herakles in the house of Dexamenos and the disrupted wedding festivities of Peirithoos and Hippodameia. The scholiast to the *Odyssey* was careful to point out that Bacchylides had made a distinction between the Thessalian Eurytion in Homer and the Elean Eurytion who appeared in his story. Hyginus related the events of the Thessalian wedding immediately following his account of the Eurytion myth.

Such a pattern is apparent in artistic representations as well. Because the deeds of Theseus were modeled on those of Herakles, it was not uncommon for parallel episodes to be depicted together.³⁵ Plutarch (*Thes* 6–7) pointed out that Theseus emulated the older hero and was inspired to tackle the bandits of the Saronic Gulf out of his admiration for the deeds of Herakles. Plutarch tells us that the Athenians even called Theseus “another Herakles” (*Thes* 29.3). While Herakles fought Centaurs on a number of occasions, however, Theseus was involved in a battle with Centaurs only once. Furthermore, when Theseus aided his friend Peirithoos and his fellow Lapiths, who were often plagued by the tribe of Centaurs inhabiting the surrounding mountains, it was initially in a secondary capacity. It was not until he gained his reputation as the foremost hero of Athens that Theseus took a primary role in the Centauromachy. Nor did early descriptions of this battle, as in *Iliad* 1 (262–70), refer to weddings or abducted brides as the catalyst for the conflict. It was not until the middle of the fifth century that Theseus began to be represented protecting women from Centaurs, although his predecessor Herakles was depicted doing so nearly a century earlier.

Visual Representations of the Elean Centauromachy

There are Archaic Attic vase-paintings depicting Herakles defending a bride from a Centaur that date to the second quarter of the sixth century. A number of Tyrrhenian amphorae dating *ca.* 565 depict Herakles attacking a Centaur with a sword (Figs 12.13–16). On the Centaur’s back is a young woman. In some of these depictions the offending Centaur wears a wreath on his head, indicating that the wearer is participating in festivities of some kind, such as a wedding or symposium (Figs 12.13–15). Some of these vases also depict other Centaurs coming to the aid of their comrade (Fig. 12.14).³⁶ There are human onlookers as well. An old man is always a spectator and often other young women are present, their hands sometimes raised in alarm. Gods, such as Athena, Apollo and Hermes, are sometimes depicted as well³⁷ (Fig. 12.15). These vases have nearly all been identified by scholars as representing the killing of Nessos.³⁸ One of the vases even bears the appropriate inscriptions, labeling Deianeira, Herakles, Nessos and Oineus, as well as other spectators³⁹ (Fig. 12.16). Yet there is little about the iconography of this scene that is consistent with the literary versions of the Nessos myth, in which the Centaur carries Deianeira across the river Evenos and tries to rape her. He is then shot by Herakles from the opposite bank with arrows dipped in the venom of the hydra. As he lies dying, Nessos tells Deianeira to collect his blood and use it as a powerful love potion, though in fact it will result in the death of Herakles.

The only version of the Nessos story that varies from these fundamental details is found in Bacchylides (ed. Snell-Maceler fr 64). In the Bacchylides fragment, the weapon used by Herakles is the club. This implies that Herakles was on the spot at the time of the attempted rape and makes the story’s role in his future destruction immaterial, since there is no poisoned arrow and therefore no love potion.⁴⁰ Every version of the story includes the river crossing and this is certainly the defining element of the myth. Yet the Louvre amphora, despite its identifying inscriptions, has no indication of a river. There are a number of other people present as well. In no extant literary version of the myth does Nessos attack Deianeira at a wedding or at a feast in front of her father and other guests.⁴¹ In fact, the characters are nearly always limited to Herakles, Nessos and Deianeira. There is only one exception, found in Diodoros (4.36.5), in which the couple’s infant son Hyllus is also present. Furthermore, several of these Tyrrhenian vases depict fellow Centaurs joining the fray (Fig. 12.14).⁴² Herakles is often depicted using his sword against the Centaur, resulting in no poisoned arrow and therefore no love charm. Indeed, if it were not for the inscriptions on the Louvre amphora, this event would be far more appropriately identified as the slaying of the Centaur Eurytion in the house of Dexamenos. Because of their similarity to the inscription-bearing Louvre amphora, however, the other Tyrrhenian



Fig. 12.13 Attic Black-figure Amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, ca. 565. The Hague Meermanno-Westreenianum W608 126. Photo after LIMC Nessos 6.



Fig. 12.14 Attic Black-figure Amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, ca. 565 Munich 1433 Jahn 126. Photo after CVA Munich.

amphorae of this type have been identified as representing the Nessos episode.⁴³ The basis of this identification disregards the presence of wedding iconography, such as wreaths and torches, and the lack of such elements crucial to the myth of Nessos as the river crossing and the use of the bow and arrow. Admittedly, the use of other weapons besides the bow and arrow exist, perhaps in two of the most famous illustrations of this story; the neck amphora by the Nessos painter (Athens 1002) and the New York Nessos amphora (New York 11.210.1).⁴⁴ The Bacchylides fragment discussed above (fr 64) indicates that authors

were familiar with the variations of these myths and clearly artists were as well.

In another Tyrrhenian amphora one of the young women looking on while Herakles dispatches Eurytion is depicted holding a torch, iconography that is consistent with marriage rituals (Fig. 12.13).⁴⁵ In his discussion of this vase, Baur dismissed the detail of the torch as “merely a whim of the artist” since, as he rightly argued, there would be no call for wedding torches in the story of Nessos.⁴⁶ Because a wedding torch would be perfectly appropriate to a depiction of the wedding in the



Fig. 12.15 Attic Black-figure Amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, ca. 565. Indiana University, Bloomington. Photo after LIMC Nessos 4.



Fig. 12.16 Attic Black-figure Amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, ca. 565. Paris Musée de Louvre E 852. Photo after LIMC Nessos 1

house of Dexamenos, it is therefore likely that this is a representation of the Eurytion story.

This tableau was not limited to vases of the Archaic period, though some of the later vases may indicate that the myth acquired some variation over time. An Attic red-figure stamnos by the Polygnotos Group from ca. 450–430 depicts the familiar group of Herakles, draped in his lion skin and armed with his club, about to strike a Centaur who is trying to grab a young woman (Fig. 12.17).⁴⁷ An old man behind Herakles has an arm outstretched in the direction of the action. The figures are labeled and the inscriptions indicate that this myth had developed even further by the mid-fifth century. Here, the old man is labeled Oineus, the young woman Deianeira and the Centaur Dexamenos. This representation is nearly identical in composition to a vase by Polygnotos from the same period (Fig. 12.18).⁴⁸ The Polygnotos vase does not have any inscriptions and Herakles, though he can be identified by his club, does not wear his lion skin. Rainer Vollkommer pointed out that although scholars such as Beazley and Shefton considered

the labeling of the Centaur “Dexamenos” an error, there was a Middle Comedy by Timokles called *The Centaur or Dexamenos*. Furthermore, a Scholiast to Kallimachos’ *Hymn 4* indicated that a Dexamenos mentioned in line 102 was a Centaur, a fact that is not evident from the poem itself:

...and Bura, the cattle-stead of Dexamenos, son of Oeceus...
(*Hymn 4, To Delos*, 102)

or

Boura, a city in Achaia, which Dexamenos the Centaur inhabited; and there he kept watch over his cattlesteads.
(Scholiast to Kallimachos, *Hymn 4*, 102)

While the characters Deianeira and Oineus are consistent with the myth of Herakles and Nessos, Dexamenos is a character from the myth of Herakles and Eurytion. There is so little known about a Centaur named Dexamenos that it is impossible to assess if his story resembled that of Eurytion, assuming that the scholiast was correct in

assuming that this Dexamenos even was a Centaur. The patronymic son of Oikeus" presents a problem for this identification. If the Dexamenos in this passage were a Centaur, he could not be the son of Oikeus. The only known Centaurs who were *not* the grandchildren of Ixion and Nephele and sons of Kentauros were Cheiron and Pholos, who were the sons of Kronos and Silenos, respectively.⁴⁹

While the myths of the Centaur Eurytion and the Centaur Nessos are fairly consistent in the literary tradition, there seems to have been a great deal of variation in their representations in the artistic tradition. There exist at least two examples, however, that illustrate the Eurytion story without doubt. A fragment of a bell krater by the Nausikaa Painter dating to *ca.* 450–440, depicts a Centaur and bearded man sharing a couch (Fig. 12.19).⁵⁰ The Centaur is smiling broadly and gesturing towards a young girl who kneels at the foot of the couch. Behind the couch stands Herakles and behind the girl stands a young man with his hand to his head in a gesture of dismay (Iolaos or Azan?). The man on the couch, who is certainly Dexamenos, also has a hand raised as though in alarm. There can be little doubt that this is a representation of Eurytion in the house of Dexamenos offering himself as husband and son-in-law. His horse's body is discreetly draped with a cloth and only his tail emerges from under it, betraying his unique physiognomy. Unfortunately the fragmentary state of the vase prevents us from learning what other characters and events were portrayed. Another fragment of an Attic red-figure vase from *ca.* 475–450 depicts a young girl wrapped in a veil sitting next to a couch on which a Centaur awkwardly lies, his long horse's legs drawn up to his chest (Fig. 12.20). This too is surely a depiction of the Centaur Eurytion courting the daughter of Dexamenos.⁵¹

Judging from the previous examples, Herakles' rescue of a young woman from a Centaur had a long history in visual representations. The Attic vases from the sixth century that depict the scene have sufficient wedding

iconography, such as wreaths, torches, attendant gods and guests (both human and equine), to indicate that the scene of the abduction was a wedding ceremony. The existence of these early visual depictions together with the poem of Bacchylides relating the event, provide a solid precedent for the use of the theme of the Elean Centauromachy in the west pediment of Olympia's Temple of Zeus.

If the west pediment is a depiction of the Elean Centauromachy, then where is Herakles? Herakles, though known as a slayer of monsters, has characteristics in common with the Centaurs. He wears animal skins, fights with a tree trunk, and takes whatever women strike his fancy. He is also known to over indulge in drink, often leading to acts of violence. His role in the Elean Centauromachy, however, is a redeeming one. Here, the hero is represented as a defender of women against Centaurs who wish to violate the sacred laws of marriage. He is depicted fighting with a sword, and his less civilized attributes of the club and lion skin have been put aside. Herakles is represented in a similar way in the twelve metopes that also decorate the Temple of Zeus. In none of these metopes does he wear the lion skin and his age varies from a young, beardless youth to an older, bearded man. In fifth-century vase-paintings depicting Herakles and Eurytion, he is sometimes shown as a beardless young man, and without his lion skin (Fig. 12.18) though in the earlier depictions of the sixth century he is more often depicted as older, wearing the skin and bearded (Figs 12.13–16). There appears to be no consistency in the hero's appearance in depictions of this myth. He is shown both young and old, bearded and beardless, fighting with

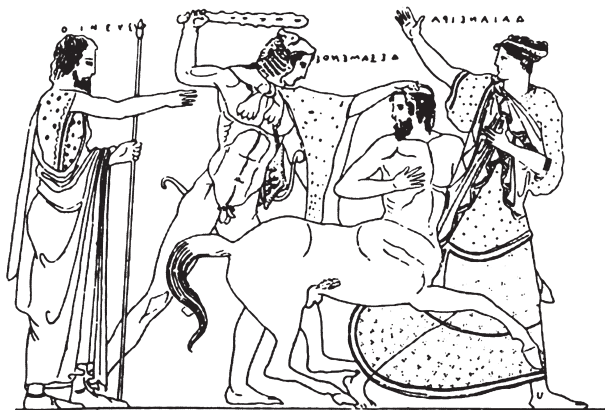


Fig. 12.17 Attic Red-figure Stamnos, Polygnotos Group, *ca.* 450–440. Naples H 3089. Photo after Vollkommer 1988, figure 36.

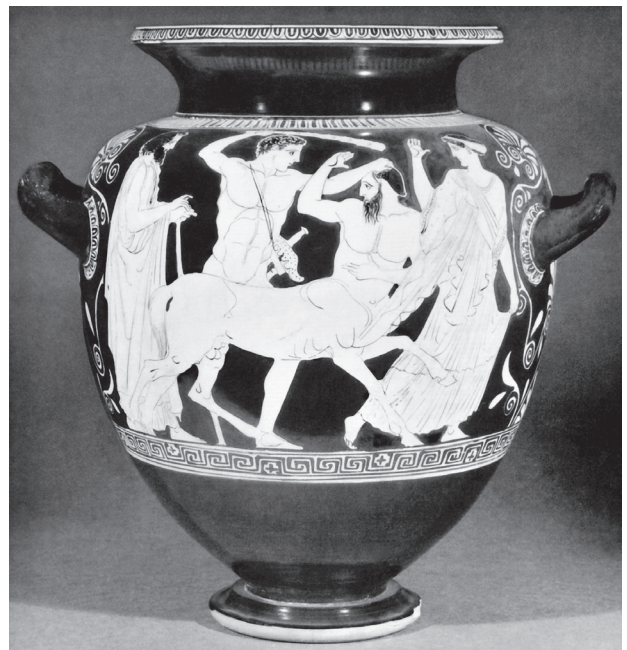


Fig. 12.18 Attic Red-figure Stamnos, Polygnotos, *ca.* 450–440. London BM 98.7–16.5. Photo after CVA, London, British Museum.

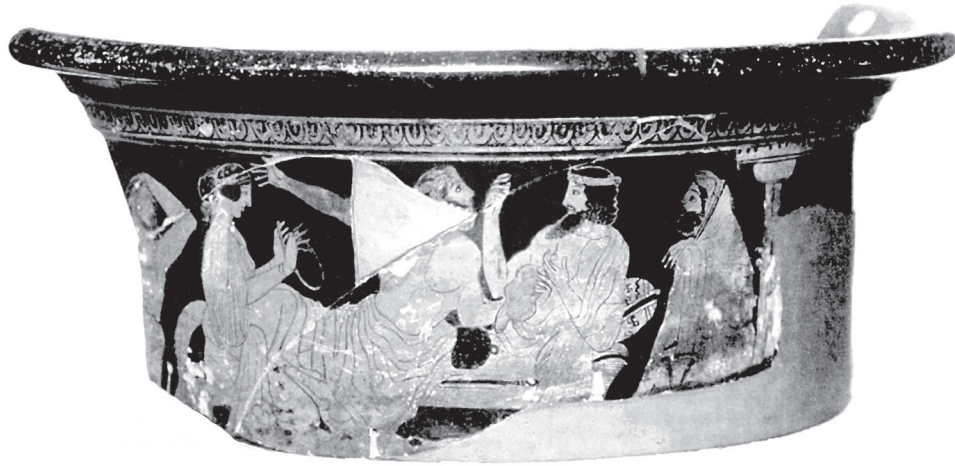


Fig. 12.19 Attic Red-figure Bell Krater Fragment, Nausikaa Painter, ca. 475–450. Paris, Musée de Louvre G 345. Photo after CVA, Paris, Louvre.

a sword or his club, and with and without his lion skin. Yet in the metopes of the Temple of Zeus, Herakles does not once appear wearing his lion skin, and he varies in age throughout. The beardless face of figure K (Fig. 12.4) and the lack of lion skin thus present no impediment to the identification of this figure as Herakles. Given that his role in the myth was the rescue of the bride from the Centaur Eurytion and it is surely Eurytion, the potential bridegroom, who would wear the metal wreath indicated by the drill holes, it is therefore most likely that Herakles is represented by figure K in the west pediment, coming to the aid of the young woman seized by Centaur I (Fig. 12.11). His companion, figure M, may well be his nephew Iolaos, a faithful companion to his uncle through many of his labors and adventures (Fig. 12.10). The two friends are shown fighting Centaurs in a similar back to back pose on a red-figure kylix by the artist Pamphaios, from ca. 510 (Los Angeles A 5933.50.21) (Fig. 12.21).⁵²

Finally, the central figure of Apollo lends his divine authority to the battle being carried out. Like Herakles, Apollo is a son of Zeus and he stands by his brother during the fray, in much the same way as Athena does in the temple's metopes. Apollo appears frequently in wedding scenes and it is not at all surprising that he would be a guest at this wedding (Fig. 12.15). Apollo is the divine ancestor of the royal house of Elis, the father of Lapithus, who was the father of Phorbas. Phorbas migrated to the Peloponnese from Thessaly and became king of Elis and thus an ancestor of Dexamenos (Paus 5.1.11).

The encounter between Herakles and the Centaur Eurytion at the marriage of the daughter of Dexamenos, king of Elis, is appropriate as the subject of the west pediment for many reasons. First, the two most important heroes of the sanctuary, Pelops and Herakles, are depicted in myths that took place locally, in Pisa and in Elis. Yet both heroes are important outside of the region of Elis as well. The Peloponnese, or the island of Pelops, was named for Pelops while Herakles was a Dorian hero of



Fig. 12.20 Attic Red-figure Fragment, ca. 475–450. Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1937.3. Photo after Woodford 2003, fig. 146.

Panhellenic importance whose labors took him frequently to the Peloponnese, and to the regions of Elis and Arkadia in particular. Thus, the Eleians chose the themes to be represented in the pediments of the Temple of Zeus in order to emphasize both the foundation of the sacred cults of Olympia and the heroes who established them, as well as to reflect matters of cultural and historical importance. Furthermore, the theme of a threat posed to the sanctity of marriage is significant in both the east and the west pediment and was one to which any visitor to the sanctuary could personally relate.

Given that the use of a local legend that features Herakles, the founder of both the sanctuary and the games, suits the program far better than the Thessalian Centauromachy, it is perhaps surprising that scholars were not willing to accept Wilamowitz's proposal of an Elean Centauromachy.⁵³ Clearly, the identification of the scene as the Thessalian Centauromachy by Pausanias has

been a formidable stumbling block. In the chronology of the Centauromachy in architectural sculpture, however, the primary position of the Temple of Zeus perhaps explains how such an identification came about. Pausanias visited the sanctuary over 600 years after the temple was built. In the second century CE, the Thessalian Wedding Centauromachy was prevalent in architectural sculpture and vase-paintings. Yet this was not the case at the beginning of the fifth century. The Elean Wedding Centauromachy, however, had been a prominent theme in vase-painting since the middle of the sixth century. Like the chariot race between Pelops and Oinomaos found in the temple's east pediment, however, the Elean Centauromachy was a subject that was chosen especially for its local significance, while at the same time resonating Panhellenically. Once the battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs featuring Theseus began to use the context of the disrupted wedding ceremony as well, together with the increasing popularity of the young hero and his patron city of Athens, the Thessalian Centauromachy became more prevalent architectural sculpture. It was not until after the Elean Centauromachy at the wedding appeared in the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus, however, that Theseus began to appear defending women from Centaurs. Given the established pattern in artistic representations of Theseus engaged in deeds that mirror those of Herakles, it is logical to assume that Theseus was shown protecting women from Centaurs because Herakles was depicted doing so.

This is not to say that Theseus and Centaurs were not depicted before the middle of the fifth century. The Thessalian Centauromachy that included Theseus began to be represented in the early sixth century with the François vase and continued through the Archaic period.⁵⁴ Later Archaic examples invariably followed the model set by the François vase: the Centaurs, using trees and boulders, fight Lapiths armed as hoplites in an outside setting. The attack on the invulnerable Lapith warrior Kaineus by Centaurs was usually the focus of the composition. It is difficult to know whether Theseus is included among the other

warriors in the Archaic vases. If Kleitias had not labeled all of the figures in his depiction of the subject, we would not have been able to identify him on the François vase either. The François vase is the earliest depiction of the Thessalian Centauromachy definitely to include Theseus.

In these Archaic examples of the Thessalian Centauromachy there is no indication of the disrupted wedding that will become prominent in the iconography of the latter half of the fifth century. A krater by the Florence Painter,⁵⁵ ca. 460, is perhaps the first surviving example of the disrupted wedding of Peirithoos and Hippodameia (Fig. 12.22). The central figure, a young man, draws back his fist to strike a Centaur who has a vase raised over his head. A young woman has fallen to the ground and her dress has slipped off her shoulder. Another youth has a Centaur, who is brandishing a small table, in a headlock.⁵⁶ The fight is clearly an impromptu affair, more of a brawl than the formal battles of earlier depictions, and the young men use techniques culled from wrestling and boxing while the Centaurs use whatever they can lay their hands on. The lack of formal weapons, the nudity and the use of household implements indicate that the battle broke out in a domestic context. Furthermore, the presence of a woman, whose disheveled clothing implies that she has been sexually assaulted, perhaps indicates that the occasion was a wedding. These details all point to a new direction in the artistic depictions of the Thessalian Centauromachy. The use of boxing and wrestling moves suggests that this may be the Centauromachy involving Theseus since the cycle cups depicting his deeds, most prevalent at the turn of the sixth century, were often showcases of such athletic maneuvers. Theseus was not a hero of brute strength, like Herakles, and relied a great deal on agility and cleverness to overcome his opponents. Because of this, he was frequently represented, beginning in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, using techniques mastered in the gymnasium rather than on the battlefield.⁵⁷

It is clear that the parallels between the two heroes and their interactions with Centaurs were evident to artists in

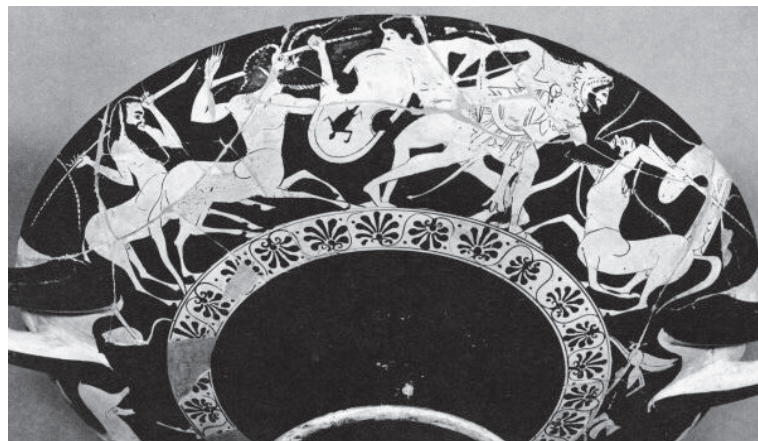


Fig. 12.21 Attic Red-figure Kylix, Pamphaios, ca. 510. Los Angeles A 5933.50.21. Photo after CVA, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum.

the Archaic period. Just as Hyginus associated Herakles rescuing women from Centaurs with the Centauromachy in Thessaly in his *Fabula* 33, these two themes were also clearly associated in the minds of ancient artists as early as the middle of the sixth century. A Tyrrhenian amphora depicts the familiar group of Herakles, Eurytion and the daughter of Dexamenos in the center with the old man to the right between two women, one of whom carries wreaths in her hands (Fig. 12.15).⁵⁸ To the left, two Centaurs armed with stones approach the central group. One of them wears a wreath on his head and Eurytion does as well.⁵⁹ On the other side of the Munich amphora is a depiction of a Centauromachy of the type associated with Archaic depictions of the Thessalian. Fully armed men dressed as hoplites battle Centaurs who are armed with stones and tree trunks. Over a century later, two red-figure cups by Aristophanes in Boston depict a Centauromachy on the exterior in which nude young men crowned with wreaths battle Centaurs with swords, axes and other implements.⁶⁰ It seems clear that a feast setting was intended since one of the Centaurs fights with a broken pot. There are no women represented, however. In the tondoes of these vases a nude and beardless young man raises his club against a Centaur who carries a young woman (Fig. 12.23). These figures are labeled Herakles, Deianeira and Nessos. Shefton argued that the painter made an error when painting the inscriptions and that the young man in the tondo was actually Theseus defending Hippodameia.⁶¹ Because of the tradition linking the exploits of Herakles and Theseus, however, the inscriptions are certainly correct. By painting the two heroes battling Centaurs on the same vase, Aristophanes was perpetuating a long-standing practice.

Given the parallels between the Centauromachies of Herakles and Theseus, it should not come as a surprise that Pausanias confused the two. On a superficial level, one Centauromachy resembles another and many of the

sculpted Centauromachies that involved multiple Centaurs and women *were* the Thessalian, after the middle of the fifth century. Usually, in his Centauromachies Herakles either defended a woman from a single Centaur (Nessos) or defended himself against many Centaurs (Pholos). The exception was when Herakles rescued the daughter of Dexamenos from Eurytion at a wedding. The marital setting of this myth dictated that guests would be involved, both women and other Centaurs who, seizing the moment, would surely have entered the fray. Since the Centauromachy in Elis was one that had particular regional significance, it is not surprising that it was not used again in monumental sculpture, outside of Elis. I would argue, therefore, that Pausanias was justifiably mistaken in his interpretation of the Centaurs in the west pediment.⁶²

Overall, Pausanias' study of Greece is filled with important information that has aided archaeologists enormously and, given its size, is remarkably free of errors. Mistaken identifications and interpretations exist, however. His first and most obvious error is his identification of the Temple of Poseidon at Cape Sounion as the Temple of Athena (1.1.1). Later, he says that the temple at Tegea is the largest in the Peloponnese, though the temple of Zeus at Olympia is twice its size (8.45.5). Several of Pausanias' most glaring errors were made at Olympia, where we know that he had guides leading him around the sanctuary. This suggests that the knowledge of these guides was inconsistent.⁶³ Given that Pausanias visited Olympia nearly 600 years after the Temple of Zeus was built, it is certainly not surprising if his guides were not clear on details. The Temple of Zeus and its sculpture were problematic for both Pausanias and his guides.⁶⁴ In the east pediment they argued over the name of Pelops' charioteer and Pausanias erroneously identified the Old Seer (figure N) as a groom (5.10.8). Pausanias attributed the east pediment to Paionios and the west to Alkamenes, though scholars have since decided that these identifications are not convincing given the time period and unanimity of the sculpture as a whole.⁶⁵ The west pediment caused Pausanias the most problems of all and was discussed very briefly in comparison to his description of the east pediment. He identified the towering central figure in the west pediment, almost universally recognized as the god Apollo, as Peirithoos and figure K as Kaineus (5.10.8). It is his desire to include Kaineus in the tableau that is perhaps most telling. Apart from inscriptions, it is the figure of Kaineus being beaten into the ground by flanking Centaurs that undeniably identifies a Centauromachy as being the Thessalian. Beginning with the west frieze of the Hephaisteion in Athens, Centauromachies nearly always included him.⁶⁶ The fact that Pausanias looked for, but could not easily identify, Kaineus in the west pediment is understandable given his widespread appearance in Thessalian Centauromachies. Yet depictions of Kaineus are virtually unchanged from the Archaic period and figure K in the west pediment would be unprecedented as a Kaineus. It is far more likely that Pausanias was unable to identify Kaineus because he simply was not there. Not

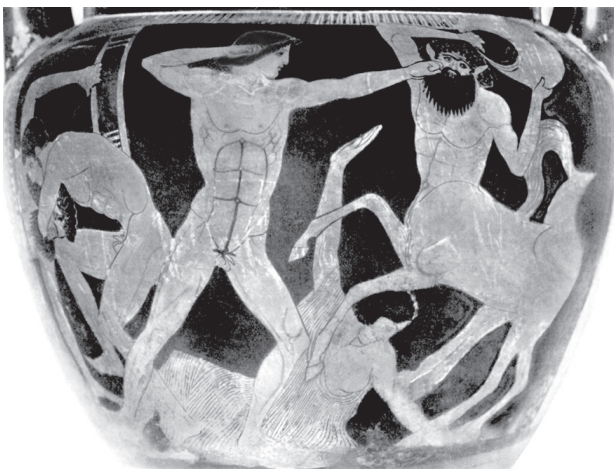


Fig. 12.22 Attic Red-figure Column Krater, Florence Painter, ca. 460. Florence Museo Archeologico 3997. Photo after CVA, Florence, Archaeological Museum.



Fig. 12.23 Attic Red-figure cup, Aristophanes Painter, ca. 420–410. Boston 00.344. Photo after CVA, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

because, as Ashmole argues, Kaineus was not essential to the story, but because the Centauromachy represented was not the Thessalian but the Elean.⁶⁷

The construction of the Temple of Zeus, therefore, provided an opportunity for the Eleans to venerate the gods and heroes most important to themselves and to the sanctuary while placing them within a context that would resonate locally as well as Panhellenically. This was important because of the thousands of visitors who would journey to the sanctuary from all over the Greek world. The goal of the temple sculptor was to plan a thematically significant program to ensure that any visitor to the sanctuary would respond to the program of the temple as a unified whole on a number of different levels. As he approached from the west, the visitor would see Herakles rescuing the bride of a local king from her unwanted suitor, a creature who dared to thwart the civilized and sacred rules of marriage. This heroic action would further be emphasized in the six sculpted metopes over the opisthodomos that depicted more of Herakles' encounters with untamed creatures, both in the Peloponnese and beyond. The visitor would then walk around to the east end of the temple, admiring the sacred olive tree planted by Herakles at the temple's west end, passing the shrine of Pelops established by Herakles in honor of his maternal ancestor, passing the shrine of Herakles himself, until he faced the east pediment.

There, Pelops himself would be evident as he prepared to overcome the King of Pisa and marry his daughter. Thus, the east and west pediments and the metopes incorporate these important heroes engaged in legends that were most significant to the Greeks, both locally and Panhellenically. The chariot race between Pelops and Oinomaos, the Elean

Centauromachy and the cleaning of the stables of Augeas would resonate on a local level, while the labors of Herakles and the themes of the sanctity of marriage and the victory of civilization over wildness would be significant to all of the visitors to the Sanctuary. Thus, despite the particularly local emphasis, the sculptural program is, overall, Panhellenic in its scope and was therefore as significant to the thousands of pilgrims visiting the sanctuary each year as it was to the Eleans themselves.

Notes

- 1 See Patay-Horvath 2004 for his argument that Pausanias is mistaken in his identification of the subject of the east pediment, which I also believe to be true of his identification of the subject of the west pediment.
- 2 Jones 1918.
- 3 Pausanias references the *Ehoiai* for the name Alkathoos as one of 17 suitors in his description of the Chest of Kypselos (6.21.10).
- 4 Calder 1974, discusses the possible production date of *Oinomaos*. He favors an early date (468) in the poet's career based on perceived "Aeschyleanisms" in the 18 lines that remain of this work. Euripides' production was performed in 409. See also Hurwit 1987, 7.
- 5 Myrtilos' fate is mentioned by the chorus in Sophocles' *Elektra* where he is described as being thrown from the chariot into the sea (505–15).
- 6 duBois 1988, 56. These are epithets reserved by duBois for Centaurs, Amazons and Barbarians.
- 7 See Säflund 1970 for an extensive treatment of this problem and illustrations of the many arrangements that have been devised for the east pediment. The slimmer, more youthful figure, G, is generally considered to be Pelops while the more mature body, figure I, is that of Oinomaos. Pausanias

places the figure of Pelops in the same half of the pediment that contains the river Alpheios. He is usually identified as figure A, the more robust of the two river gods. This would place Pelops and Hippodameia on Zeus' right hand and the viewer's left, resulting in an "open" arrangement of the central figures. See also Ashmole and Yalouris 1967, Herrman 1987, 125–148 and Kyrieleis 1997, 13–27. It should be noted that the present arrangement in the Olympia Museum is the "closed" arrangement, not the "open" arrangement illustrated here in Figures 1 and 3.

- 8 Boardman 1991, 34, points out that a bronze corselet and helmet were added to the image of Pelops at a later date, but a helmet on his head carved in stone is clearly visible today. Perhaps in Pausanias' day only Oinomaos wore an additional helmet in metal which distinguished him from Pelops.
- 9 Kyrieleis 1997, 19–20.
- 10 See Squarciapino 1952–1954, 133–138 and Simon 1968, 149.
- 11 Kyrieleis 1997, 20. Note that figure I is also known as J in some reconstructions.
- 12 LIMC 1, 694 7. The seer as a sign of impending disaster was a device used on the Amphiaraios krater (Berlin F 1655, now lost) from ca. 570–550. Hurwit 1987. In this vase-painting, the old man is seated to the far right of the scene near Amphiaraios' chariot, and rests his head in his hand as though under the burden of his vision. Similarly, figure N sits behind the chariot of Oinomaos in the half of the pediment to the viewer's right.
- 13 See Kardara 1970 for the suggestion that the figure may be a youthful Zeus. Pausanias' identification of this figure as Peirithoos will be discussed below.
- 14 Sinn 1994, 593–6, in particular figures 7, 8 and 9. For a summary of scholarship on the identification of the central figure, see 592–8.
- 15 Cahen 1937, 3–13, suggests that the posture and gesture are taken from an earlier representation of Peirithoos (the Theseion mural) and that it is for this reason that Pausanias made his error in identification Barron 1972, 28–9, points out, however, that Peirithoos would have been attacking a Centaur, not directing the action in this way.
- 16 Blinkenberg 1934, 27–33.
- 17 Ashmole and Yalouris 1967, 17 and Tersini 1987, 145–52.
- 18 Treu 1897, 70, also observed that the god was pointing. For his drawings of Apollo see 69–72, figures 110–115.
- 19 Tersini 1987 151–2.
- 20 See Shefton for his discussion of this "himation motif" which he uses to identify these two figures as Peirithoos (figure K) and Theseus (figure M). As an heroic motif, it can, by the same token, be as easily applied to Herakles and Iolaos, or any other heroes in such a situation.
- 21 Centaurs wearing wreaths at the wedding can be seen in Athenian vase-paintings from the sixth century and will be discussed below.
- 22 This ode was written to celebrate a victory in the games in 476, the same year as *Olympian* 1, which relates the story of the chariot race between Pelops and Oinomaos, and *Olympian* 3, which describes how Herakles planted the sanctuary with olive trees.
- 23 Murray 1889, figure 1.
- 24 Tersini 1987, 139.
- 25 Wilamowitz 1895, 60 n. 110.
- 26 Wilamowitz 1925, 237, n. 2 retracted this suggestion and proposed a different scenario. Instead, he suggested that the pediment depicted a double wedding between the Elean princes Eurytos and Kteates (the Aktorione-Moliones slain by Herakles in Pindar's *Olympian* 10) to the daughters of Dexamenos. There is no literary evidence to support such a myth, however.
- 27 The painting of the Centaur family is described by Lucian (*Zeuxis or Antiochos* 3) as being a novelty when it was shown for the first time.
- 28 The poet does not specifically say that Cheiron and Chariklo are married, but they live in a cave together with Cheiron's mother Philyra and his daughters. Chariklo, in the form of a mortal woman, also appears with Cheiron in the procession at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis represented on the François vase (Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *Paralipomena* 29–30; *Beazley Addenda*² 21), and in a vase of Sophilos (Athens Akr 587; *ABV* 39.15; *Paralipomena* 10).
- 29 Page 1962.
- 30 It is unclear whether this Azan is the same as the one mentioned by Pausanias (8.4.3–5) who was the son of the nymph Erato and Arkas, son of Kallisto. He goes on to say that the first funeral games were held for Azan which suggests that the hero was quite an old one and therefore from a generation too early to be involved in our story.
- 31 Oldfather 1933.
- 32 Hyginus' telling of the story resembles its predecessors but may have become conflated, over time, with the myth of Nessos. The victim of Eurytion's attack is now Deianeira. Since *Fabula* 31 mentions her as the victim of both Eurytion and Nessos, and *Fabula* 33 says that Herakles marries her, Hyginus clearly considers them the same woman. Yet she is named as the daughter of Dexamenos and not Oineus, who is traditionally the father of the Deianeira whom Herakles marries.
- 33 See *RE* 34 (1937) 2442 s.v. *Olenos* 5 for the suggestion that, based on this evidence, there may have been an Olenos in Elis.
- 34 See Nagy 1990, chapter 4, for a discussion of the process in which an earlier myth "fuses" with a later. The example used is the myth of Pelops as given by Pindar in *Olympian* 1, but the concept can be applied equally well to the myth of the Centaur Eurytion disrupting the wedding of the daughter of Dexamenos in Elis or Hippodameia in Thessaly.
- 35 See Neils 1987. A Corinthian cup from ca. 570–60 (Brussels A 1374; *CorVP* 203) depicts Theseus and the Minotaur on one side and Herakles battling Acheloos on the other. Other artists liked to depict the heroes fighting their respective bulls. At the end of the sixth century the Athenian treasury displayed the deeds of the heroes in its metopes, a theme that was also used somewhat later on the metopes of the Hephaisteion in Athens.
- 36 Several of these Tyrrhenian amphorae depict multiple Centaurs; Dresden ZV 1647 (*ABV* 105.1), Munich 1433, Jahn 126 (*ABV* 98.37; *Beazley Addenda*² 26) and Cassel T 385 (*ABV* 105.2; *Paralipomena* 40, *Beazley Addenda*² 28).
- 37 Bloomington, Indiana University 73.6 LIMC 6, 839 #4 and pl. 535 for illustration.
- 38 Baur 1912 and Diez de Velasco 1992, 844–47.
- 39 Louvre E 852, *ABV* 96.13; *Beazley Addenda*² 25.
- 40 In another poem (Ode 16), Bacchylides makes a reference to the fatal concoction give to Deianeira by Nessos, so clearly this detail was not unknown to the poet.
- 41 It is interesting, however, that in *Trachiniae* 555–581 it

- is noted that the episode with Nessos took place shortly after Herakles and Deianeira were married and she was traveling with him as a new bride. This may be the version depicted in the New York Nessos amphora (*LIMC* 6, 840 #6 and pl. 541 for illustration) where Deianeira is depicted on a chariot holding the reins while Herakles dismounts to dispatch Nessos.
- 42 Munich 1433, Jahn 126, *ABV* 98.37; *Beazley Addenda*² 27. See also Dresden ZV 1647 (*ABV* 105.1) and Cassel T 385 (*ABV* 105.2; *Paralipomena* 40, *Beazley Addenda*² 28).
 - 43 Díez de Velasco 1992, 844–47, admits that there is a great deal of ambiguity in the identification of the Nessos scene and other scenes in which a Centaur abducts a woman.
 - 44 Athens 1002 *ABV* 4–5.1; *Paralipomena* 2.6; *Beazley Addenda*² 1–2; for illustration of New York 11.210.1 see *LIMC* 6, 840 #36 and pl. 541.
 - 45 The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westhreenianum Holwerda W608 (107), *ABV* 98.38; *Paralipomena* 37.
 - 46 Baur 1912, 18.
 - 47 Naples H 3089, *ARV*² 1050–1051.4; *Beazley Addenda*² 321.
 - 48 London, BM 98.7–16.5, *ARV*² 1027.2; *Beazley Addenda*² 317.
 - 49 Vollkommer 1988, 26–28. This title does not necessarily mean that the Centaur was named Dexamenos. Because of this inscription and somewhat slight literary evidence, Vollkommer names *all* of the Centaurs in this context Dexamenos, despite the rich literary tradition that names him Eurytion. He further argues that the paucity of literary evidence is no reason to distrust the inscription “since other writers also give varying names.” 27. Yet in every extant version of the myth, the name of the girl’s father is always Dexamenos and the name of the Centaur is always Eurytion. The name of the daughter is different in each case, and in Hyginus she is named Deianeira, but her father is still Dexamenos. While there may, at one time, have been a literary tradition about a Centaur named Dexamenos, we know nothing about him. Furthermore, the line in Kallimachos does not even say that Dexamenos is a Centaur and it is the Scholiast who tells us so.
 - 50 Louvre G345, *ARV*² 1108.16; *Beazley Addenda*² 330.
 - 51 Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1937.3
 - 52 *ARV*² 124.11(13); *Paralipomena* 176. See Brauhnoltz 1923.
 - 53 Ross Holloway 1967, 97–8 does not support Wilamowitz’s interpretation of the west pediment, in large part because of the youthful appearance of the two central heroes. He argues that the Olympia sculptor demonstrates great interest in depictions of youth and age, particularly in the progression of the aging Herakles in the metopes, and would therefore be unlikely to portray Herakles as one of the young men flanking Apollo. He also points out that it would be impossible to interpret the other youth as the King Dexamenos. It is certainly true that neither of these young men could be identified as Dexamenos, but the other young man could be Herakles’ companion Iolaos or even the bridegroom Azan, defending his bride. Furthermore, the “back-to-back” fighting pose of these two young men that is noted by Shefton as a defining posture of Theseus and Peirithoos in later depictions of the Thessalian Centauromachy is used earlier by Herakles and Iolaos when fighting Centaurs in a kylix by Pamphaios. See Shefton 1962, 339 and 356–60 and Brauhnoltz 1923.
 - 54 The plaque from Olympia (BE 11a) depicting Kaineus being beaten into the earth by two Centaurs is from the seventh century.
 - 55 *ARV*² 541.1; *Paralipomena* 385; *Beazley Addenda*² 1658.
 - 56 Cf Parthenon south metope 1 where the Centaur has the youth’s head locked in a similar way. This figural arrangement is adopted in many representations of the Centauromachy.
 - 57 Beginning in the sixth century, Theseus’ heroic deeds were clearly patterned on those of Herakles although care was taken to downplay the older hero’s more brutish characteristics when modeling the deeds of the new Theseus. These are most evident in the “cycle cups” that depict the young hero wrestling with various opponents on his journey through the Saronic Gulf. See Neils 1987.
 - 58 Munich 1433 Jahn 126, *ABV* 98.37; *Paralipomena* 37.37; *Beazley Addenda*² 26.
 - 59 In most of the literary accounts, the only Centaur specifically described as present at the house of Dexamenos was Eurytion. The exception is in the version told by Hyginus in which Eurytion brings his “brothers” to the house of Dexamenos to be present at his marriage. We have no way of knowing if Eurytion brought any other Centaurs with him in the Bacchylides poem because of its fragmentary state and neither Diodoros nor Apollodoros mentions it. Yet it would certainly not be unusual for Eurytion to invite his kinsmen to his own wedding or at the least to bring some friends along to help him carry off the king’s daughter should Dexamenos offer any resistance.
 - 60 Boston 00.344 and Boston 00.345, *ARV*² 1319.3 and 1319.2; *Paralipomena* 478, *Beazley Addenda*² 363.
 - 61 Shefton 1962, 341–2. Shefton is bemused that the painter should make an “error” of this kind, since he considers the drapery that wraps around the hero’s arm and legs a clear indication that this is, in fact, a depiction of Theseus rescuing Hippodameia from Eurytion. It is more likely that the “himation motif” was rather copied from images of Herakles and used in later representations of Theseus and Peirithoos to tie them visually to earlier depictions of Herakles.
 - 62 I am grateful to Christopher Jones who, in a very helpful conversation (May 2003), pointed out the difference between “identification” and “interpretation” when discussing Pausanias. While Pausanias, and indeed anyone, would have had no trouble *identifying* a scene as a Centauromachy, the *interpretation* of the scene was dependent on many variables.
 - 63 His guides at Olympia were not always in complete accord when it came to iconography either. Pausanias mentions that the sacred guides at Olympia could not agree on the subject matter of some of the scenes represented on the Chest of Kypselos (5.18.6).
 - 64 For further discussion of Pausanias, his sources, accuracy and methods, see Jones 2001, 33–39, Snodgrass 2001, 127–41 and Elsner 2001, 3–39.
 - 65 See Morgan 1952, 295–339, Ashmole 1963, 213–33 and Stewart 1983, 133.
 - 66 The coffers from the ceiling of the monument at Belevi are an exception. This is probably not meant to be a Centauromachy at a wedding, however, as it depicts warriors armed in contemporary armor engaged in duels with Centaurs. See *Österreichischen Archäologischen Institute* 1905 for Belevi. Coeffers are reproduced in *LIMC* 8, 439–40 #217.
 - 67 Ashmole 1967, 18.

IV. DIFFUSION AND INFLUENCE

The Relief Metopes from Selinus: Programs and Messages

Erik Østby

Metopes with figural decorations, painted or in relief, go back in time almost as far as the Doric order itself: the well-known painted metopes from Thermon from about 630–620 B.C. suffice to establish this fact, even if other examples from the 7th century are controversial.¹ In the 6th century such decorations appear mostly on small buildings such as treasuries; on larger temples they are rare, and for a long period between the early and the late decades of the century there is no clear evidence for them altogether in mainland Greece.² They may have been useful as a less demanding way of obtaining decorated surfaces in the temple exterior than the large pediment compositions, which seem to have emerged slightly later and soon became the appropriate way to obtain a prestigious figural decoration of a temple façade; metopes offered smaller surfaces, easier to handle, but for the same reason less impressive.³ They seem consequently to have been considered an optional item, of lower status than the pediment decorations. These latter had, moreover, a capacity to develop into unitary, coherent compositions which was less obvious for metopes, where independent subjects for the various slabs – or, at most, groups of two and two – seem to have been the general rule in early decorations.⁴ It is nevertheless clear that a trend toward unified compositions had been transmitted from pediments to metope decorations when they appear again at the turn of the century, with the cycles of Theseus and Heracles from the Athenian treasury at Delphi as the best known example. This is also one of the fairly rare cases where relief metopes and pediment sculptures appear on the exterior of the same building.⁵ In buildings like the Athenian treasury there was no alternative if both pediment sculptures and decorated metopes were wanted, and in a building of such modest dimensions the metopes actually gave more satisfactory decorative opportunities than the pediments. But if both types were used in monumental

temple buildings, the visual conflict which could easily develop between them could be avoided if the metopes were located in the dark, cramped and scarcely visible positions over the pronaos and opisthodomos columns. A similar solution, with a continuous Ionic frieze, may have been applied in the late archaic temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis; with metopes this is first seen in the temple of Zeus at Olympia, which is also the best known example. But the system was used elsewhere, even where there was no sculpture in the pediments.⁶ At Olympia, the metopes were in this way clearly defined as second in importance, ranking lower than the large and easily visible pediment groups, and the metopes were clearly not intended to compete for the viewer's attention while he admired the exterior of the building. Only with the Parthenon and a few other buildings of the classical Attic flowering does the combination of pediment sculptures and external relief metopes reappear, for reasons which are not relevant here; but they were clearly also in these cases not considered as equivalent.⁷ The position in the building context, the complexity of the compositions and the size of the figures clearly defined the pediments as superior.

There is reason to believe that metopes with figured decorations were more appreciated in the Greek West. The early archaic metope series from the Heraion near Paestum must have decorated the exterior of a small building, almost certainly a temple, although its shape and location in the sanctuary are problematic.⁸ Other evidence for early stone metopes in Sicily and Southern Italy is fragmentary and elusive, but cannot be ignored.⁹ The extensive use of terracotta for the decoration of Western buildings has opened the way for tentative identifications of larger terracotta relief slabs of the suitable, approximately square shape and convenient dimensions as metopes.¹⁰ For isolated items without a proper context such identifications must remain tentative, but they become more likely when

such slabs or fragments are found in building contexts inside a sanctuary. One particularly interesting example of such a situation is offered by the so-called Temple B at Himera, a building which does not otherwise show any clear evidence of the characteristic Doric order and apparently had no external columns at all.¹¹ If in archaic Sicily the metopes were so appreciated as a vehicle for figured, narrative decoration that they could appear outside of their normal architectural context, there may have been a general Sicilian or Western background for the very special tradition which was established at Selinus.

Another important aspect of this background touches that visual competition between metopes and pediments where in Greece apparently the pediments came out stronger; for this, the early temple at Himera again gives interesting evidence. In its initial phase, which includes the relief metopes, the pediment seems to have been decorated not with a figural composition, but with a large Medusa mask in terracotta; only later on, in the early 5th century, this was replaced by a figural composition in the more normal, Greek fashion.¹² In archaic Sicily there is widespread evidence for such Medusa masks in the pediments; the origin of this tradition is supposed to lie in early Greece, where there really is very little evidence for it.¹³ Whatever the origin, this tradition blocked the pediment as a vehicle for figured, narrative compositions as long as it existed, and it can be followed down to the famous Temple C at Selinus where it coexisted with external relief metopes, as apparently in the early temple at Himera.¹⁴ This situation created a different balance between pediments and metopes at the very beginning, which must have affected the development of the decorative systems also in later stages. Evidence for this may be traced in the groups of relief metopes from the temples at Selinus, where we have the unique occasion of following such a special tradition step by step for a full century, from the mid-6th to the mid-5th century. No other site in the Greek world offers similar evidence for such a continuous, almost stubborn use of decorated metopes on large temples in this period, and nowhere else can we see how basic principles behind these decorations were maintained and developed through four successive, ambitious projects.

Leaving aside one or two possible forerunners, which give no opening for the kind of analysis pursued here, the Selinuntine tradition is opened for us by the so-called Y metopes.¹⁵ They have been found reused in secondary contexts – the building itself has not yet been located – and it is not even certain that they all belong to the same building, since there is evidence for architectural material from more than one building of appropriate date and dimensions.¹⁶ But the dimensions, particularly the important block-height, are so identical that it seems difficult to split them.¹⁷ There is another complication, however: two of the metopes have a different framing system from the rest, with an unusually high frame below, but no lateral frames; and the ovolo ornament under the upper frame, which the other metopes have, is omitted on

at least one of those metopes.¹⁸ A distinct stylistic character can be claimed for one of them, but not for the other, and the various proposals for a chronological separation of the two groups for that reason lose validity.¹⁹ There may be several possible reasons for these strange differences, impossible now to make out; a special emphasis on some of the metopes in a single frieze, or decorated friezes on both fronts of a building which certainly was peripteral, are both conceivable explanations.²⁰

The circumstances of discovery give no clue to the position of each metope in the decoration, but it is possible to identify one important principle which seems to be observed here more closely than elsewhere and which is passed on to most of the later metope groups: every metope was conceived as a separate representation, without narrative connections with other metopes. Following this basic principle, the representations can be organized in three groups. The isolated figure of a sphinx represents one group which is likely to have included at least one counterpiece; together they probably had a special function of framing at either extremity the other reliefs.²¹ In vase painting sphinxes often had this function, giving to the entire illustration a touch of the sacred and mysterious, and as such framing figures they are frequent also in architectural sculpture, as fully three-dimensional acroteria at the lower corners of temple pediments. At Selinus there is evidence for such an arrangement on Temple C.²²

Only two of the metopes known to us carried narrative, mythological representations, of the kind we normally expect to find on relief metopes; and although they are distinguished by the two different framing systems, there are otherwise interesting connections between them. One is the famous metope showing Europa on the bull, who really is Zeus in disguise making his position as protagonist clear by the frontal turn of his head;²³ then, the badly destroyed relief showing Heracles fighting a bull (Fig. 13.1), certainly to be identified as the Cretan bull (and not, as a different hypothesis would claim, as Acheloo).²⁴ The two protagonists are important local deities – Zeus, and Heracles, whose divine status seems as certain at Selinus as elsewhere in the Western Greek world;²⁵ and both appear in stories specifically connecting them with Crete. For this reason a recent hypothesis which attempts to identify the figure standing with a staff or a lance behind Heracles as Minos, rather than the more obvious Athena, has much to recommend it; Minos was also to be the offspring of the union between Europa and Zeus.²⁶ Minos was a figure of some interest in this part of Sicily, since there was a local tradition locating his tomb in the frontier area between Selinus and her neighbour Akragas, which had an element of Cretan settlers; contacts and tensions between the two neighbours may explain this particular interest in the Cretan stories.²⁷ Early representations of the Europa myth have been discovered also at Akragas.²⁸ At Selinus, the story of the Cretan bull may have been chosen simply because it is the only Heracles-myth to bring him in contact with Crete, and with king Minos. Widespread as it becomes



Fig. 13.1 Metope from Temple Y: Heracles and the Cretan bull. Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo; NI 3914. Photo: DAI Rome, neg. 96.1885.



Fig. 13.2 Metope from Temple Y: Divine couple on a quadriga (Poseidon and Amphitrite?) Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo; NI 3919. Photo: DAI Rome, neg. 71.610.

in late archaic vase-painting and other art, his fight with the bull was almost unknown in earlier archaic art, and no iconographical tradition had yet been established for it.²⁹ The composition on the metope leans on current representations of another Heracles adventure, his fight with the lion, as it was shown on Olympian shield-strap reliefs and occasionally elsewhere in early archaic art;³⁰ clearly this was done in order to include a story which was locally considered important, even if an iconographical standard had not yet been developed for it. Official interest in the subject is confirmed by its later use on Selinuntine coins and on official sealings discovered in Temple C, in a composition close to the metope.³¹

The remaining three metopes show important, local deities in static groups focusing on certain aspects of their character and their internal relations. One metope discovered in 1968 shows two deities, probably one male and one female, as a central group on a frontal chariot with four horses; the external horses are rearing towards the centre, and the male god touches their heads with his raised hands as if to display his power and control over the animals (Fig. 13.2).³² The representation is unusual, but probably to be understood as Poseidon as horse-god, with a female consort, perhaps Amphitrite.³³ The composition is based on models from Cretan, Orientalizing art of the 7th century, but demonstrates some awareness of the divine epiphany on a frontal chariot as it was emerging as an important subject of pediment decorations in the 6th century.³⁴

As in many Western colonial settlements, created with the support and encouragement of Apollo and his Delphian oracle, Apollo was probably the principal god of Selinus.³⁵ But the metope showing his arrival greeted by his closest relatives, his sister Artemis and his mother Leto (Fig. 13.3), has no connection with Delphi.³⁶ The position of honour reserved for Leto, at the centre of the composition, is of particular interest, since she does not seem to have been an important figure in the cult neither at Delphi nor at Selinus or elsewhere in Sicily.³⁷ She was important, however, in the sanctuary of Delos, where Apollo and Artemis were born.³⁸ Among the quite numerous, archaic representations of Apollo's arrival among the gods, precise parallels for the emphasis given to Leto are difficult to identify, and it is for this reason all the more interesting to note how the representation seems to merge elements from the two prooemia in the Homeric hymn to Apollo.³⁹ There are on the whole clear connections between the representations on these metopes and that hymnic literature which flourished in this period.

The last of these metopes, also discovered in 1968, shows a similar scene of a meeting between three deities, all female this time (Fig. 13.4).⁴⁰ Their divine status is clearly defined by their cylindrical head-dress, the poloi, but their precise identity could only be understood from the objects they hold in their hands. Among the various attempts to identify them, preference must be given to flower buds, perhaps of the lotus; one, held by the central person, even seems about to open.⁴¹ She is defined as the



Fig. 13.3 Metope from Temple Y: The Delian triad – Apollo, Leto and Artemis. Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo; NI 3918. Photo: Hirmer Photoarchiv, Munich. neg. 601.3017.



Fig. 13.4 Metope from Temple Y: Three goddesses – Hecate, Demeter and Persephone. Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo; NI 3913. Photo: DAI Rome, neg. 71.611.

senior person also by wearing shoes, while the two others are barefoot;⁴² but we are clearly meant to understand that they are all closely related. No better interpretation can be offered than the meeting of Demeter and Persephone at the latter's return from the world below, with Demeter as the senior, central figure, accompanied by Hecate standing behind her, and Persephone appearing from the right.⁴³ Once more the correspondence with a precise passage in the Homeric hymn to Demeter leaps to the eye, and a connection with Eleusinian ideology at Selinus can also be demonstrated at other levels; the presence of Hecate is revealing, since a small sanctuary for her existed both at Eleusis and at the sanctuary for Demeter Malophoros outside Selinus at the entrance to the sanctuary itself.⁴⁴

If no simple, narrative connection can be traced between these reliefs, one seems to exist at a deeper level: the metopes present a general review of locally important deities, in situations or groupings showing aspects of their character and their relations with one another or with the local environment. In this way they introduce a pattern which remains vital also in the later metope groups.⁴⁵ Compared with contemporary metope decorations elsewhere, this approach is unusual and surprising; it is widely different from the contemporary metopes from Foce Sele, which are based on a more normal array of various narrative, mythological subjects, and also from the very fragmentary metopes from Temple B at Himera if they have been correctly understood as a more conventional cycle of the adventures of Heracles.⁴⁶ The emphasis on the gods coincides rather with what

elsewhere seems to be a priority in pediment decorations. We do not positively know whether the pediments in this temple were blocked by the large Medusa masks, as later in Temple C, but it seems likely that those concerns which pushed important messages from the pediments to the metopes were already here active. That process becomes clearer in the somewhat later Temple C.

From the front frieze of Temple C we have three almost complete metopes (Fig. 13.5) and fragments and other information providing the subjects of two more, so that we have a knowledge of five out of the original ten metopes covering the normal hexastyle front. Moreover, the young English travellers who discovered these reliefs in 1823 have left precious information allowing us to establish their original positions in the frieze, which was not possible for the earlier group (Fig. 13.6).⁴⁷ Those reliefs we have, were apparently located above the third, fourth and fifth intercolumniation counting from the left, and the tenth can be reconstructed, leaving only one metope in the right half of the frieze (no. 9) with an unknown motive. The subjects are independent, as on the Y metopes, but it is here easier to identify an organizing principle which defined the choice of subjects and decided the positions of the reliefs.

In difference from the Y metopes, it is here possible to identify the centre-piece of the decoration: the two metopes located above the central intercolumniation of the colonnade carried the same motive, the solemn, frontal epiphany of a deity on a chariot drawn by four horses, greeted by two female figures standing beside the chariot.

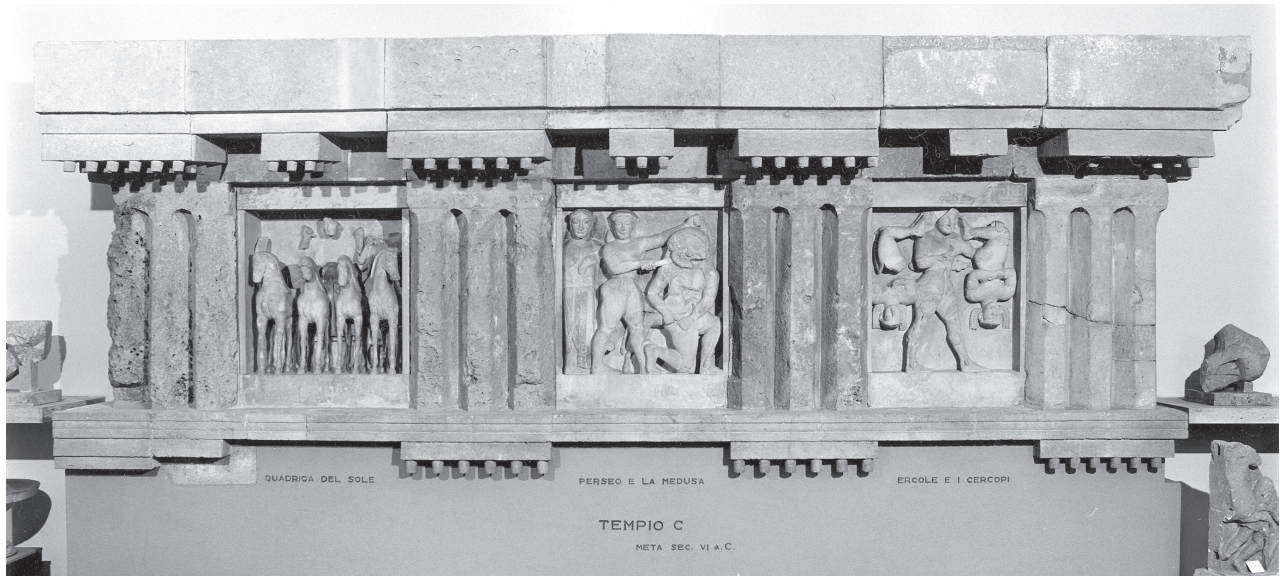


Fig. 13.5 The metopes from Temple C, as arranged in the archaeological museum in Palermo. Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo; NI 3920 A, B, C. Photo: DAI Rome, neg. 96.1069.

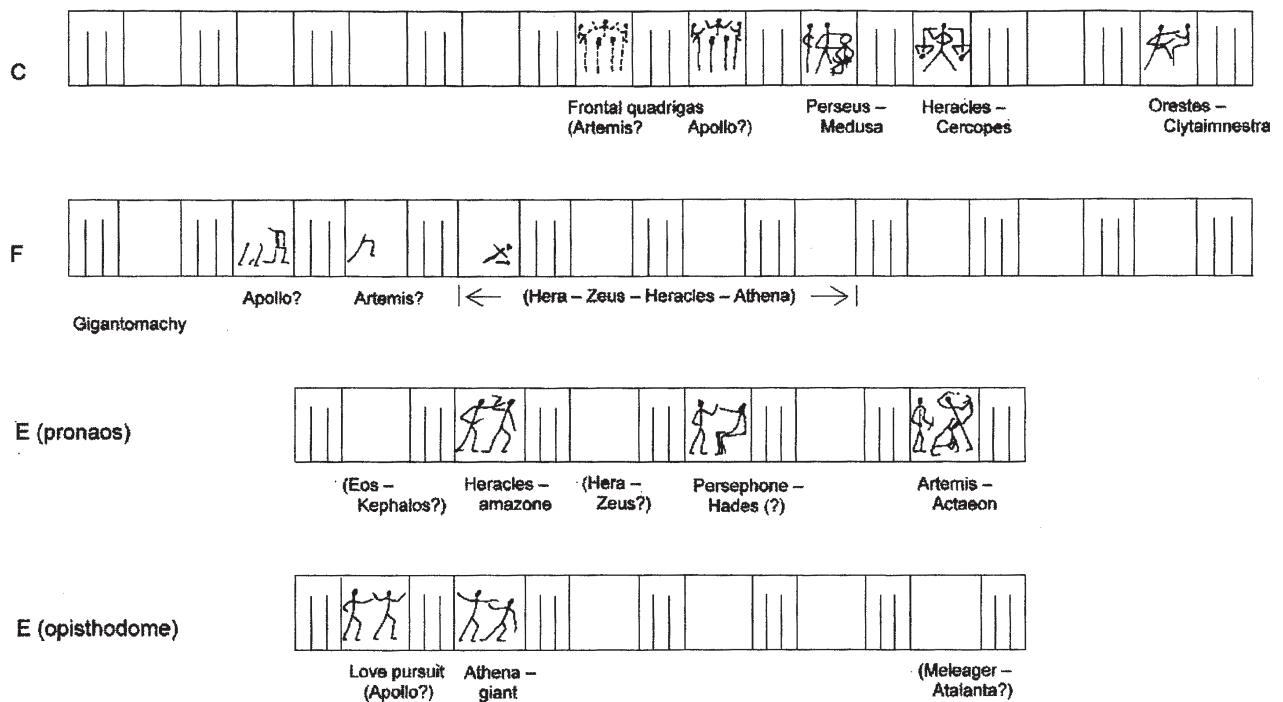


Fig. 13.6 The metope decorations from Temples C, F and E: the original arrangements as reconstructed. Drawing: Author.

One of these metopes is well preserved, for the other we have the information from the discoverers supported by some fragments which can be identified in the museum of Palermo.⁴⁸ The epiphany of the temple deity on a frontal chariot is well known as a centre piece of late archaic pediments in Greece; it is particularly frequent in Delphi, where it appears on the temple of Apollo and on some smaller buildings.⁴⁹ If the Selinuntines knew and wanted

to imitate some such model, this could only be done in the frieze since the pediments were still occupied by the traditional, large Medusa masks in terracotta.⁵⁰ But it was still possible to maintain the basic idea of presenting in such solemn epiphanies the gods to whom the temple was dedicated, provided that there were two of them; a single metope could not have an axial position in a frieze with ten metopes.⁵¹ Doubtless this was the main temple

of the city, occupying the central position in the largest sanctuary of the acropolis, and it is also for this reason natural to understand it as a temple for Apollo, probably worshipped together with his sister Artemis who would then have been represented in the lost metope to the left.⁵² This contributes to explain the iconographical connection with Delphi, and is to some degree supported also by later Selinuntine coins showing the two together on a chariot, but seen from the side.⁵³

The other metopes are dedicated to mythological subjects, at least apparently more aligned with metopal decorations elsewhere. Two more metopes which have been almost completely reconstructed were placed above the fourth intercolumniation from the left, in position 7 and 8, and show the deeds of two important heroes: Perseus, cutting the head off Medusa and supported by Athena, and Heracles carrying the two Cercopes.⁵⁴ These heroes are well known elsewhere from metope groups, the Cercopes motive also appears in a metope from the Foce Sele complex;⁵⁵ clearly the story was at least in this environment and in this period considered appropriate for temple decorations. The narrative independence of the two metopes is clear, but they are nevertheless connected by the character of their messages: both are heroes with positive value, fighting and defeating monsters and daemons with the assistance of the gods.

This character is so fundamental to most archaic mythological iconography that it might be taken as obvious in this context, if it had not been for the evident contrast with the subject which can be reconstructed for one metope above the last intercolumniation, in position 10. The three fragments from this metope, which also for technical reasons clearly belong together, can be reconstructed as the representation of a terrible scene: a young man rushing with his drawn sword towards a heavily draped, female figure, seated on a throne (Fig. 13.7).⁵⁶ The composition is built on representations of Orestes killing Aigisthos on Olympian shield-strings and occasionally elsewhere, and it refers to the same mythical cycle, but Aigisthos has been replaced by Clytaimnestra herself so that we get a representation of the most gruesome item of this myth, the matricide.⁵⁷ This is no victory of the positive forces of existence, it is an example of an ethical and moral disaster created by breaking essential rules for human behaviour given by the gods. From such a scene the gods are absent, and it has to be relegated to the extreme position of the frieze, as far removed as possible from the divine epiphany.

The right half of the frieze suggests a general system with the metopes organized couple-wise as a pentaptych following the rhythm of the colonnade below: solemn epiphanies in the centre, the heroes with their battles and victories above the intermediate intercolumniations, and the sinister and gloomy stories at the extremities (Fig. 13.6). These principles go together with a formal one – many, static and tightly spaced figures in the centre, fewer figures and more moved compositions toward the corners – which has long been observed.⁵⁸ Unfortunately

the fragments from the lost metopes do not allow even hypothetical identifications of motives from the left part of the frieze, so the analysis must remain hypothetical, although likely.⁵⁹

The connection with pedimental decorations seems clear in the central epiphany scenes, but apparently stops there; the rest of the frieze, with its rigorously independent themes linked two by two only by the general tone of their messages, moves in a direction radically different from that development toward unitary subjects and compositions which we can trace in late archaic pediments in Greece (and, influenced from these, also in metope decorations). But it is possible to draw a parallel to an earlier stage of that development, as exemplified by the Corfu pediment, similarly organized as a pentaptych – the Medusa group, the felines, the battle groups – in close correlation with the colonnade below.⁶⁰ The paratactical and at the same time dialectical character of the composition, where symbols of the destructive powers of the divine – Medusa, the felines – coexist with the positive messages of gods defeating their enemies and opponents, provides another parallel. The quadriga epiphanies may demonstrate an awareness also of later developments in mainland pediments, but the basic principles remain anchored to models half a century older than the decoration itself. This seems to be the case

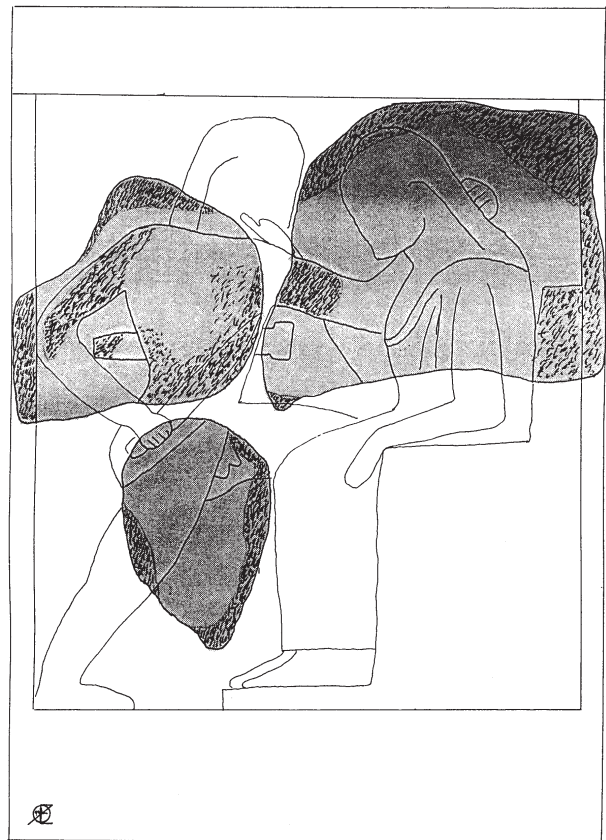


Fig. 13.7 The metope from Temple C showing Orestes killing Clytaimnestra, tentative reconstruction. Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo; NI 3904, 3905, 3907. Drawing: Author.

also for the formal language of these reliefs, which for that reason have often been dated far too early; for reasons too complex to be discussed here, they can hardly be older than about 530–520.⁶¹

When decorated metopes had become so safely established as a tradition at the very beginning of monumental temple building at Selinus, it comes as a slight surprise that this tradition was not carried forth in the period immediately following the construction of Temple C. The next link in the chain of local temples, Temple D, was constructed next to Temple C, but was slightly smaller and clearly not meant to compete with it; it had no sculptural decoration at all, neither on the metopes nor in the pediments. In spite of its perfectly archaic formal system, it is probably as late as the early 5th century.⁶² In the huge Temple G, which shows slightly later formal traits, the dimensions of metopes as well as pediments may have discouraged any attempts of adorning its exterior with sculptural decoration; but the figure of a bearded giant of quite modest dimensions may possibly have made part of a sculptural gigantomachy in the pediment of the small naiskos inside the open cella where the cult statue was kept.⁶³ In these initial decades of the 5th century evidence for pediment sculptures other than the now discontinued Medusa masks begins to appear elsewhere in Sicily; but if those influences were felt at all at Selinus, they were confined to such secondary positions.⁶⁴

In the so-called Temple F, built next to the large Temple G and probably at approximately the same time, the tradition for relief metopes in the front frieze was again retrieved from the about half a century older,

archaic buildings – although there was here no longer a Medusa mask or any other pediment decoration to impose this choice.⁶⁵ The return to the old tradition is probably better explained precisely as a conscious use of the older Temple C as a model, also in the architecture which is strangely old-fashioned for this rather late period. But the use of metopes rather than pediments for the decoration becomes interesting when we see that a subject was chosen which was elsewhere, also in Sicily, more frequently used precisely for pediments: the battle of gods and giants.⁶⁶ We have substantial fragments probably from three rather than two of these metopes (Fig. 13.8), and a considerable number of more modest pieces, which cannot always be distinguished from fragments of an Ionic frieze which also seems to have existed somewhere in the building.⁶⁷ Connections with the Eastern Aegean are in any case suggested also by the curious construction of these metopes, on two separate blocks one above the other, which has parallels on the island of Samos.⁶⁸ Elements of the sculptural style confirm these connections, and a date about 480 for a building whose architecture was in that case extremely conservative even in the Sicilian context.⁶⁹

If the various duels of the gigantomachy covered the entire front frieze here, as later on the east front of the Parthenon, the ten metopes would have admitted as many gods to the battle. Certainly those three who had a particular importance in the myth and are never omitted in extensive representations of it, were included: Heracles, Athena, Zeus; and if a symmetrical arrangement of the frieze with a centre-piece of four metopes was wanted (corresponding to the width of the cella front), Hera is a



Fig. 13.8 The metopes from Temple F. Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo; NI 3909 A, B. Photo: DAI Rome, neg. 96.1074.

likely candidate for that fourth metope (Fig. 13.6).⁷⁰ To one of these gods the temple was probably dedicated, Heracles being a likely suggestion since Hera and Zeus were worshipped in the neighbouring temples E and G and Athena more probably had her temple on the acropolis, perhaps Temple D.⁷¹ The general importance of this foursome makes them likely candidates for the central metopes of the frieze, and they are thus not probable identifications for the deities on two fragments from the second and third position from the left in the frieze; probably they represented more marginal participants in the battle, such as Artemis, Apollo, or Dionysos.⁷² These identifications, however, are of secondary importance.

As a subject, the gigantomachy was certainly well aligned with one concern of the earlier metope groups: the emphasis on subjects involving the gods and allowing an extensive, general representation of them. In this respect, the decoration takes up the line particularly from the early Y metopes. But otherwise, in the local Selinuntine tradition for metope decorations this group represents an exception, since it is the only case where the mainland-Greek principle of a clear, narrative connection between all the metopes in a frieze was applied.⁷³ This may reveal a situation where Selinus was opening to influences from the rest of the Greek world, although this is not the impression one receives from the architecture of the temple. But it also implies that for the next and final link in this tradition, the famous metopes from Temple E, this more updated approach must deliberately have been discarded in favour of a full return to the old, locally developed principle of narrative independence for each metope. This can only have been done with clear and conscious intentions, which may be at least tentatively explained on the basis of the remains from this decoration.

The so-called Temple E was constructed about 460–450, dedicated to Hera as we know thanks to an inscription, and next to the earlier Temples F and G at a site where earlier temples had been built since the early 6th century.⁷⁴ Its purely classical formal apparatus demonstrates that a major breakthrough had taken place at Selinus after the stubbornly archaic temples still constructed in the years about 480, and the almost centimeter-exact repetition of dimensions and proportions from the somewhat earlier temple “of Heracles” at Akragas clearly demonstrates the source of those impulses.⁷⁵ But at Akragas, the evidence for architectural sculpture concerns pediments, not metopes, and at this point the new Selinuntine temple remained faithful to local tradition – although with a twist: the metopes were no longer placed in the exterior front frieze, but in the friezes in the front of pronaos and opisthodomos. This arrangement is as far as we know absolutely unique in the Greek West, and would hardly have appeared here without a direct knowledge of the contemporary temple of Zeus at Olympia, although one possible reason for choosing this somewhat unhappy position did not apply here: there were no sculptures in the pediments, and no indication that this was ever contemplated.⁷⁶ Once more the analysis must be made on less than half of the original decoration:

with three intercolumniations and six metopes in either end of the cella, giving a total of twelve relief metopes, we have five complete reliefs plus numerous fragments. Once again, precious information from those who discovered the sculptures in the 1830’s helps to establish their original positions in the two friezes.⁷⁷

Our information is richer for the pronaos, where the three famous metopes with Heracles attacking the amazon, the amorous meeting of a divine couple, and Actaeon killed by his dogs at the instigation of Artemis, were found respectively in the positions 2, 4 and 6 counting from the left – each of them, consequently, from the right-hand position above each of the three intercolumniations (Fig. 13.6).⁷⁸ There is no obvious narrative connection between these subjects, so the old, local principle of narrative independence between the various metopes has clearly now been re-established, but the motives were certainly not for that reason chosen haphazardly or for purely aesthetical, decorative reasons; the simple, satisfactory and widely implemented principle used for Temple F would certainly not have been discarded for such a purpose.⁷⁹ All the metopes we have display one male and one female figure, and some efforts were made to apply systematically this most unusual principle; it is for that precise reason likely also for the compositions on the lost metopes.⁸⁰ But this purely formal principle hardly exhausts the intentions behind the choice and disposition of the various, apparently unrelated subjects; they can be understood as representative of the same three general categories which filled up the presumed pentaptych of Temple C, expressing similar ideas in a slightly different arrangement.

The first metope, from the second position, shows Heracles fighting the amazon.⁸¹ This is hardly his well-known task from the dodecalithon, fetching Hippolyta’s belt; it is clearly a fight to death, where Heracles has just won an advantage by grasping her hair and at the same time blocking her foot with his own, so that the decisive thrust from the sword (once added in bronze) in his lowered, right hand can be delivered.⁸² Early classical Attic iconography has close parallels to the postures and the composition, but the subject itself has by now become old-fashioned there: after the enormous output of amazonomachies involving Heracles in late archaic vase painting, he fades out from this as well as other contexts after the transition about 480.⁸³ His rank and prestige at Selinus, where the older Temple F nearby was probably dedicated to him, may contribute to explain why he was included in the decoration in a position where his traditional status as the great hero fighting and exterminating monsters and enemies was considered appropriate. Moreover, this precise adventure offered a rare opportunity, and the only one involving Heracles, of including an old-fashioned heroic battle with positive connotations within the basic male-female pattern.⁸⁴ It conveys essentially the same kind of message as the Perseus- and Heracles-stories on the C-metopes.

Another scene of extreme violence, but where the

female has the advantage, is shown in the last metope to the right, in position 6: Actaeon being torn to pieces by his dogs, on Artemis' order (Fig. 13.9).⁸⁵ The situation is full of drama, also because Actaeon has not lost his human shape and is able to defend himself.⁸⁶ One dog has just jumped on his back, and the hunter has grasped it by the throat and is for the moment able to keep it off, but the sword in his raised, right hand (once added in bronze) can no longer prevent another dog which has just set its teeth in his belly from tearing it open. At that point the third dog, which is crouching in front of Actaeon and apparently still hesitates, will join the slaughter. In front of him stands Artemis, calm and merciless, inciting the dogs with a slight movement of her hands. She has a quiver behind her shoulder and once held a bow in bronze in her right hand, although she has no use for these things; they are there as attributes, for easy identification. In the same way, the traditional transformation of the hunter into a deer is indicated by the hide, complete with head and horns, which has been thrown over his shoulders; but his ability to react as he does clearly implies that no actual transformation has taken place, the dogs act on a hallucination sent by the goddess. In this way the picture loses something in logical coherence, but it gains enormously in dramatic force.⁸⁷

In order to understand the intended message of this gruesome picture, it is necessary to look at the reasons for Actaeon's punishment for which there were several different explanations.⁸⁸ The well-known story that Actaeon had seen Artemis naked in the bath is late and irrelevant in this context.⁸⁹ In an early tradition Actaeon had competed with Zeus for the favours of Semele, so that Zeus had for this reason asked for his daughter's help to get rid of him. It is generally assumed that this motive was still used in the lost play "Toxotides" by Aischylos; but there is nothing to exclude that it was connected with an explanation more acceptable to the religious sensibility of the early classical period, reflected in the *Bacchae* by Euripides (vv. 337–340), where the punishment was imposed because Actaeon had boasted of being a better hunter than Artemis herself.⁹⁰ This purification of old mythology which also Pindar was involved with in the same period, is aligned with a basic thought of Greek ethics: the absolute prohibition for mortals to compare themselves or compete with the gods, or provoke them with disrespectful behaviour. If a story of this kind was what the artist or his sponsors had in mind, the message can be compared to the representation of Orestes and Clytemnestra from Temple C: a sinister, terrifying story, demonstrating the consequences when the rules for the relations between man and god are broken.

Since in the new, architectural context the intercolumniations and the couples of metopes above them had been reduced from five to three, the pentaptych from Temple C had to be reduced to a triptych, where a couple of what we may call "positive" subjects could be placed above the first and the "negative" ones above the last intercolumniation. But we would still expect to find in a



Fig. 13.9 Metope from Temple E: Actaeon's death. Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo; NI 3921 C. Photo: Hirmer Photoarchiv, Munich. neg. 571.0446.

central position subjects similar to the solemn epiphany of the temple gods above the central intercolumniation in Temple C, and here, in position 4, the most famous of these reliefs was located: the amorous meeting between a couple of mature, senior deities (Fig. 13.10). Almost unanimously they are identified as Zeus and Hera, often more precisely as their meeting on Mount Ida described in the *Iliad* (14.292–351).⁹¹ This identification, with or without the explicit reference to the passage in the *Iliad*, is often considered obvious precisely because the temple was dedicated to Hera and should have a representation of her in a central metope, just as she would have been located in the centre of the pediment if there had been a sculptural decoration there.

In spite of the general consensus, the identification as Zeus and Hera is far from certain, first of all because it lacks that clear support in contemporary Attic iconography which the other motives in this decoration have.⁹² The standard representation of the marriage between Hera and Zeus on classical red-figured vases shows them enthroned or less frequently standing in front of each other, pouring a libation, and mostly with a winged female (Nike, or Iris) present between them.⁹³ The composition with Zeus seated and Hera standing does not occur in these pictures, nor do the two gestures which define the scene here as a wedding: the woman unveiling herself, and his grasp of her wrist.⁹⁴ The former is a traditional part of the Greek wedding ritual, known as the "anakalypterion"; the latter



Fig. 13.10 Metope from Temple E: Divine couple – Persephone and Hades. Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo; NI 3921 B. Photo: DAI Rome, neg. 96.1309.

is more ambiguous, having often the meaning of a more or less violent abduction.⁹⁵ The same ambiguity can be seen in the entire scene, which displays two different aspects of the event. The woman is approaching as a proper bride in her best finery, in a rich and complicated dress which includes archaic elements.⁹⁶ His attire is definitely informal, wearing only the mantle casually draped over his legs; the scene is set in an abnormal surrounding indicated by the rocky throne; and the grasp of the wrist hints at an element of violence. Nevertheless, it is clear that she is the one who is arriving, but she does so on his command.

In these terms the picture is unique, created for the occasion or following an iconography of limited diffusion and insufficiently known to us. It must, however, have been easily understood in the environment it was made for, since no care has been taken to establish the identities by adding some attribute – such as a thunderbolt in the god's idle, right hand. (It would be no more irrelevant to the scene than Artemis' bow and quiver.) The scene itself, with all its ambiguities, must have been sufficient for the local public to identify the figures. An explanation for it should be sought in the local, Western environment, and the solution is suggested by written evidence for a special Sicilian celebration of one particular wedding, between Hades and Persephone: it was celebrated precisely under the name of “anakalypteron Kores”, and it was even said

that Persephone at this occasion had received all Sicily as a wedding gift from Zeus.⁹⁷ In the Western Greek world these gods received on the whole a very particular attention. The same wedding is a favourite subject on the Locrian pinaces, in a different composition with the two seated beside one another, but with him regularly dressed in the same loose mantle with nothing under, and her frequently with the characteristic mantle above her head.⁹⁸ The abduction is another frequent subject on these Locrian plaques; one example has actually been found in the Demeter sanctuary outside Selinus, where also a late archaic stone relief was found with a scene which for good reasons has been interpreted as the abduction of Persephone, probably in this case the earliest known.⁹⁹ Clearly the subject was locally important. Attic iconography has limited material for these gods, but it includes parallels for items positively lacking for Hera and Zeus. One such item is the rocky throne, on which one or both are seated on two black-figured amphorae of the Leagros group with scenes from the underworld, and also on a curious kylix of about 480, by a painter from the Brygos circle, where Hades is seated on such a throne and Persephone is standing in front of him as she also does on one of the amphorae.¹⁰⁰ There is also later evidence for the composition with Persephone standing in front of her seated husband, and for him grasping her arm.¹⁰¹ With these examples, earlier and contemporary Attic iconography actually gives better support for the interpretation as Hades and Persephone than for Zeus and Hera, in spite of the far more limited material. If the metope shows this meeting, it does so in an extremely clever way. She is arriving in her annual return to her husband, in a dress and with a gesture appropriate for the formal wedding which is the object of ritual celebration; while he is seated on a rock which may be connected with the “lithos agelastos” of Eleusinian lore, taking possession of his bride informally dressed and with a gesture recalling the element of irregularity and violence behind their union.¹⁰²

There remains the need to have Hera represented in a central position in the decoration of a temple dedicated to her, and very likely together with Zeus in the manner of the couple on the preserved metope. But a still better position was actually available for them: the lost metope to the left over the central intercolumniation, in position 3. Since no metope could have a precisely axial position, the position to the left – or to the right as viewed from the position of the cult statue, inside the temple – is likely to have been considered as ranking higher than the one to the right. In similar situations elsewhere this was normally the case; the Olympia pediments and architectural decorations elsewhere clearly demonstrate this, and in battle scenes moving from left to right left is the regular position of the victors.¹⁰³ In this position, moreover, the metope would link up with the “positive” representations over the left-hand intercolumniation, while Hades and his consort connect with the sinister themes of the right-hand part of the frieze. The argument finds some additional support in a report from the discovery, stating that a male hand holding a metal dowel, possibly from a thunderbolt,

was recovered from the debris of the lost metope 3.¹⁰⁴ Although admittedly vague, the possible significance of this information should not be ignored.

If these considerations are correct, we may assume for the central metopes a development of the pattern from Temple C with not only two, but four senior deities, occupied with their personal business rather than with their relations with humans. Together they represent the epicentre in a program where there seems to have been a specific intention of presenting a general survey of important deities, thus continuing a local tradition established already with the Y metopes and strongly present in the F series. In this environment Hades and Persephone could not be omitted from such a concept, and it would hardly be possible to include them at all in any other way than by showing them together.¹⁰⁵ Hera was certainly present, and her head may actually be preserved among the fragments from the lost metope 3;¹⁰⁶ but she would appear in the company of her partners and equals, as Hades and Persephone certainly were considered in the local, religious atmosphere.

The two metopes preserved from the opisthodomē give a general confirmation of these ideas, and add some nuances. Both are from the first intercolumniation to the left, in position 1 and 2 (Fig. 13.6). The better preserved metope shows Athena fighting a giant, an isolated scene from the same myth which occupied the entire frieze of Temple F and was also known in the Agrigentine environment.¹⁰⁷ The message is analogous to the battle between Heracles and the amazone, the victory of the forces of culture and civilization, with the same essentially positive character; also the composition, with two parallel and slanted figures, is identical. If it was located in position 2, as the Heracles metope in the pronaos, this parallel would be obvious, apart from the switch from a male to a female protagonist. The metope which was probably located in position 1 is extremely corroded and for that reason difficult to read, but the general character of the subject is clear: a young, beardless god, perhaps Apollo, is pursuing a young woman who is attempting to escape in front of him – Daphne being a possible, but far from certain identification of her (Fig. 13.11).¹⁰⁸ These scenes of divine love-pursuits suddenly became frequent in the years after 480, and had almost certainly positive connotations: being loved by a god was one of the few, possible ways open to humans for crossing the abyss of mortality which separated them from the gods.¹⁰⁹ One goddess, Eos, could also engage in such activities, and the representations of Eos pursuing either Kephalos or Tithonos are actually an extremely frequent subject in Attic classical vase painting.¹¹⁰ Elsewhere the motive is rare, but it is attested at Selinus: on a large terracotta arula, and on a partially preserved metope relief from an unidentified building on the acropolis, created by the same artists who worked in the opisthodomē of Temple E (Fig. 13.12).¹¹¹ If the switch of male and female protagonists between pronaos and opisthodomē was a general principle, we may have a subject to propose also for position 1 in

the pronaos, and a possible identification for a splendid, female marble head found at the east front in 1865 and probably to be ascribed to this position.¹¹² From the “negative”, right-hand side of the opisthodomē frieze only fragments are preserved, but we have one interesting piece of information concerning a fragment which has later been lost: the muse of a swine or boar. Remains of dogs are also preserved.¹¹³ Inserting this in a mythical context maintaining the principle of a male and a female figure, the fate of Meleager and Atalanta fighting the Calydonian boar presents itself as a possible and appropriate subject with a content which might correspond to the “negative” message transmitted in the pronaos by the fate of Actaeon.¹¹⁴ Nothing is known here about the central metopes, but two female marble heads apparently made for a purely frontal view suggest that static, representative compositions, probably without much narrative content, were applied here.¹¹⁵ Divine couples in simple, antithetical groups similar to those in the pronaos are then an obvious guess, but cannot be confirmed.

Although more than half the metopes are lost, it is possible to suggest a global interpretation where the opposition between themes with “negative” and “positive” value, located to the right and left of the divine couples in the central metopes, seems to emerge as part of a series of consciously devised, polar oppositions. The contrast between male and female figures is repeated in all the known metopes and seems to be systematically turned around between the corresponding metopes in the two



Fig. 13.11 Metope from Temple E: God pursuing a girl – Apollo and Daphne? Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo; NI 3912. Photo: DAI Rome, neg. 96.1070.



Fig. 13.12 Metope from unknown temple on the acropolis of Selinus: Eos and Kephalos. Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo; NI 3903. Photo: Hirmer Photoarchiv, Munich. neg. 601.3014.

friezes, and this hypothesis is to some extent confirmed also by fragments from the lost metopes.¹¹⁶ The conscious use of left and right with reference to negative and positive forces is indicated not only by the disposition of the subjects in the friezes, clearest for us in the east, but also by the relation between scenes of strife and love above the first intercolumniation from the left – this in the west frieze, possibly also in the east, where this concept may also have been decisive for the disposition of the divine couples in the central metopes. This system takes up and develops the old, local principle of independent subjects for each metope, as it had been established already in the Y series, and apparently with a similar emphasis on subjects involving a wide range of different gods; this concern is seen particularly clearly in the groups in the central metopes of the pronaos (in the opisthodomē this must remain a qualified guess).

The choice and disposition of the narrative subjects according to the ethical and religious character of their messages repeat and develop a pattern from the front frieze of Temple C, but in a far more sophisticated and subtle execution. Nothing similar can be found elsewhere. It is for that reason legitimate and necessary to ask if the complex somehow reflects particular aspects of the Western intellectual environment, and this may actually be the case. The oppositions between male and female and between left and right, together with other oppositions mostly of mathematical nature, are included in a list of positive and negative concepts said to go back to the early Pythagoreans, who had in this period a profound

influence on the intellectual atmosphere in this part of the Greek world.¹¹⁷ Another intellectual, local force was the philosopher Empedocles from Akragas, who developed the concept of the four basic elements, earth, water, air and fire, and connected them with those four senior deities whom we believe were represented in the central metopes from the pronaos. His cosmological system included two dynamic forces, love and strife, adequately exemplified by the two subjects from the first intercolumniation in the opisthodomē, possibly also in the pronaos.¹¹⁸

These can be no more than vague possibilities, since so much of the decoration has been lost.¹¹⁹ But there can be no serious doubt that such a complicated program was organized with specific intentions, going beyond any purely decorative purposes; they were meant to carry a message, to which all the apparently unconnected stories gave their contribution.¹²⁰ Since this message was based on a local tradition of separate subjects, and was expressed in a way so different from anything produced in the same period in Greece, it seems probable that it had a basis in local traditions and ideologies. The decoration would almost certainly have struck a contemporary visitor from Greece as strange and incomprehensible, since temple decorations in the mother country had developed on quite different lines and were, on the whole, more easily grasped and understood. Although most of the single pictures are solidly built on iconographical patterns from contemporary mainland art, the entire complex would emerge as something quite extraordinary.

Also in the Western context the Selinus metopes appear

isolated.¹²¹ Metope decorations contemporary with the Selinuntine series are unknown elsewhere in Sicily; other evidence for architectural decorations in the early 5th century concerns pediments, not metopes.¹²² The metope decorations from the Sele sanctuary are radically different, and more closely aligned with similar decorations in Greece.¹²³ Much has been preserved at Selinus, and much has been lost elsewhere in Sicily, but hardly to the point of completely concealing for us a widespread use of metope decorations elsewhere in the island, if this had existed.¹²⁴ As things are, there are reasons to believe that the metopes from Selinus represent a local tradition – but local on the side of the committents, the people who conceived, ordered and funded the buildings and their sculptural decorations, rather than the artists who materially executed the reliefs. The lack of a clear tradition in the stylistic execution of these groups, and the significant differences within the groups themselves, exclude not only the concept of a “Selinuntine school” in architectural sculpture, often presumed and never satisfactorily defined, but also the idea that these workshop groups, who must have changed from one major commission to the other, could have carried through several generations such a special and unusual tradition as we can glimpse here.¹²⁵ These decorations were created in one of the wealthiest cities in the Greek world and in a sophisticated and refined, cultural environment, where the intellectual level was second to nowhere else, and where a highly individual way was developed for expressing the messages of architectural decorations. We can approach their messages only through tantalizing fragments, but those are sufficient to bear out the power and value of what these people created.

Notes

The recent book by C. Marconi, *Temple Decoration and Cultural Identity in the Archaic Greek World: The Metopes of Selinous* (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 2007) had not yet appeared when this article was finished. It has not been possible to include references to or discussions of this important work.

- 1 On decorated metopes generally: Kähler 1949; Ridgway 1977, 225–251; Bookidis 1979, 150–268 and 446–469; Knell 1990; Martini 1990, 226–255; Junker 1993, 91–183, and 118–122 for a convenient, recent discussion of the Thermon metopes. The function of the relief fragments from Mycenae is still discussed: Ridgway 1977, 225–227; Bookidis 1979, 183–188; Junker 1993, 161–162; Klein 1997, 285–288.
- 2 After the metopes from the “Sicyonian monopteros” at Delphi (Ridgway 1977, 231–236; Knell 1990, 18–23; Junker 1993, 125–128), and those from the temple of Artemis at Corfu (Ridgway 1977, 230–231; Bookidis 1979, 177–182; Junker 1993, 124–125) there is very limited evidence of relief metopes from Greece until the late 6th century: Junker 1993, 95–96 and 102, and 128–130 for the possible examples.
- 3 On pediment decorations generally: Lapalus 1947; Ridgway 1977, 187–223; Bookidis 1979, 4–149 and 404–445; Knell 1990; Martini 1990, 226–255. See for good remarks on the relations between pediments and metopes Bookidis 1979, 458–462; also Junker 1993, 111–112 (but his penetrating analysis of early metope decorations suffers from insufficient attention to this aspect).
- 4 See, however, Payne 1926, 126–127, for motives distributed on more than one metope in the group from Thermon. This is clearly attested also at Corfu and in the “Sicyonian” metopes from Delphi (n. 2 above), and in the early metopes from Foce Sele; see Bookidis 1979, 453.
- 5 See on the metopes from the Athenian treasury Ridgway 1977, 236–238; Hoffelner 1988; Knell 1990, 52–63; Junker 1993, 98 and 141–142; von den Hoff in this volume. Another possible case is the temple of Apollo at Delphi if provided with relief metopes in the front (see below). Before this, external metopes with decorated pediments are generally assumed for the temple of Artemis at Corfu: Bookidis 1979, 177–180 with n. 9; Junker 1993, 124–125. There is an impressive concentration of relief metopes in late archaic Delphi; see Junker 1993, 142–146, for late archaic metopes from a Doric treasury in Delphi; *ibid.*, 167, and Bookidis 1979, 189–194, for possible metopes from the temples of Apollo and Athena Pronaia at Delphi.
- 6 See Junker 1993, 103, who does not mention the discussed, but possible case from the Acropolis (Ridgway 1977, 271–272; Bookidis 1979, 338–347). For the temple at Corfu this possibility is now generally disregarded (see references n. 2 above). After the temple at Olympia, the same position for sculptured metopes recurs in the temples of Bassai, Tegea and probably Kalydon (Junker 1993, 152–159), but only the temple at Tegea also had sculptures in the pediments. In the Greek West, this position for relief metopes is attested only for Temple E at Selinus, where the pediments were left plain (see below, with n. 76). Porch metopes may originally have been planned for the Parthenon: Wesenberg 1983, and Junker 1993, 148–149.
- 7 Beside the well-known cases of Parthenon and the Hephaisteion, this is attested also for the Heraion near Argos. See Junker 1993, 104–108 and 147–152.
- 8 On the Sele metopes: Zancani Montuoro 1954; Ridgway 1977, 241–242; Bookidis 1979, 218–223; van Keuren 1989; Junker 1993, 48–74; Conti 1994; Steininger 1996, 165–176. The originally presumed connection with a foundation of suitable shape and dimensions in the sanctuary, made from archaic blocks, but stratigraphically late, is still discussed: Tocco Sciarelli 1995, 732–735, for the stratigraphical evidence; Barletta 1998 for the discussion.
- 9 Junker 1993, 167–169, refers important observations from Megara Hyblaea. See for reported (and lost) material from Metaponto Bookidis 1979, 245–247, and Junker 1993, 173; for relief fragments from Sybaris (metopes or friezes) Bookidis 1979, 240–244, and Junker 1993, 171–172; and for a probable metope in Copenhagen, perhaps from Gela, Bookidis 1979, 200–201; Giuliani 1979, 7–9; Østby 1982. Generally on metopes in the West also Ridgway 1977, 238–248, and Bookidis 1979, 460–465.
- 10 Some such, more or less certain cases have been discussed by Ridgway 1977, 239 with ns. 25–26; Giuliani 1979, 6–10; Junker 1993, 169–171 (Naxos) and 172–173 (Reggio); Conti 1994, 72 n. 109.
- 11 See *Himera I*, 123–214 (N. Bonacasa) for Temple B and the materials from it; for the metope fragments also Junker 1993, 138–140.
- 12 Ridgway 1977, 215; *Himera I*, 133, 162–169, 174–177, and (catalogue) 194–202 (N. Bonacasa).

- 13 See for this tradition Lapalus 1947, 81–87; Bookidis 1979, 430–432 (who explains it too superficially, 461–462, by the lack of adequate stone material for large pediment compositions); and the general study by Belson 2001.I, 109–117. For the origin: Montuoro 1925.
- 14 See Ridgway 1977, 213–215, and Bookidis 1979, 427–432, for general surveys of pediment decorations in the West. See below, with n. 50, for the decoration of Temple C.
- 15 For the metopes from Temple Y: Ridgway 1977, 243–245; Bookidis 1979, 202–207; Giuliani 1979, 37–66; Barletta 1983, 189–196; Tusa 1983, 109–114 nos 1–6, and 183–184; Østby 1987, 136–139; Junker 1993, 130–132; Østby 2000, 292–294. See also Camerata Scovazzo 1993–94 for an interesting, recent discovery of a somewhat earlier possible metope relief, stylistically close, probably showing Heracles and the Cerynthian hind.
- 16 For the architectural material see Gabrici 1933–35, 206–218, and id. 1956, 249–256; and Mertens 1996, 31–35, who claims to have identified architectural material from three different entablatures of similar date and dimensions.
- 17 The height of these blocks moves between 83.5 to 84.0 cm (my measurements; slightly greater variations in the conspectus Tusa 1983, 183). See Tusa 1983, 183–184, who considers distributing the metopes on two different buildings, and Junker 1993, 131, rejecting this. Mertens 1996, 33, considers connecting the sphinx metope with a different building because of its slightly reduced width; this, however, has more probably a structural reason connected with a position near the corner. – On the ovolo: Østby 2000, 292, fig. 192.
- 18 The metopes with the quadriga and with Heracles and the bull: ns. 24 and 32 below, Figs 13.1–2. On the Heracles metope the entire upper part of the relief has been completely destroyed, leaving no trace of the upper frame. Giuliani 1979, 53 n. 254, wrongly states that the Herakles metope had lateral frames; Junker 1993, 132, finds this impossible to decide. According to my repeated autopsies enough original surface remains in the lower left corner of the relief to show that lateral frames did not exist, confirming a technical (but not stylistical) connection with the quadriga metope.
- 19 Giuliani 1979, 48–49, claims an earlier date for the quadriga metope than for the rest; Junker 1993, 65–66 and 131–132, sees it as later. The diametrically opposite results show the futility of such argumentation, further discouraged by the stylistic correspondence between the bulls on the Heracles- and Europa-metopes, too close to admit a chronological separation; this is emphatically expressed also by Giuliani 1979, 53.
- 20 Decorated friezes on both fronts is the proposal offered by Junker 1993, 132; this is also the arrangement generally supposed for the temple at Corfu (n. 2 above). In the Selinuntine context, however, the later Temples C and F had relief metopes only on the eastern front. See n. 16 above for the evidence for a peripteral building.
- 21 Giuliani 1979, 50–52, pl. 12.1; Tusa 1983, 112–113 no. 4, pl. 27. See for sphinxes in Greek art conveniently *LIMC* VIII.1, 1149–1165 (N. Kourou), with several examples of sphinxes framing mythological or other narrative representations nos 188–234, pls 805–808.
- 22 Gabrici 1933–35, 198, presents this evidence. Sphinxes as acroteria are frequent in Greece, somewhat less so in the West; see Goldberg 1982, 195–197, with the catalogue 210–212. Compare also the sphinxes in the friezes and metopes from the temple at Assos: Finster-Hotz 1984, 90–94 and 104–105.
- 23 Giuliani 1979, 43–50, pl. 10; Tusa 1983, 113 no. 5, pls 24–26. Generally on the representations of this subject: Bühler 1968; Zahn 1983; Schefold 1993, 58–59; *LIMC* IV.1, 78–83 (M. Robertson).
- 24 Giuliani 1979, 52–58, pl. 13; Tusa 1983, 113–114 no. 6; Østby 1987, 138–139. For the alternative interpretation as Heracles fighting Acheloos see Giuliani 1979, 55–57.
- 25 On Heracles' connections with Sicily, see Manni 1963, 29–49. His divine status here is discussed by Martin 1979.
- 26 As suggested by Giuliani 1979, 58. Only a foot and part of a staff remains of this figure. Minos in this context is otherwise only attested in a few Attic vases of the late 5th century: *LIMC* V.1, 572, nos 29–32 (J. Bazant).
- 27 See for the legends concerning Minos in Sicily e.g. Pareti 1914, 261–271; Dunbabin 1948; Bérard 1957, 417–426; Manni 1963, 53–68; Østby 1987, 139 with n. 60. The explanation seems better than the attempt by Lacroix 1965, 40–42 to connect this interest in Crete with an involvement by Megara Nisaea in the Doric colonization of the island.
- 28 On a terracotta slab imitating decorated shield-straps: W. Fuchs in *AA* 1964, 731 with fig. 47; *LIMC* IV.1, 81 no. 88. It is also found on an isolated metope from Paestum (Zancani Montuoro 1951, 133–135, fig. 39; Bookidis 1979, 234–238; Junker 1993, 136–138; Steininger 1996, 190–192), and probably also a small terracotta group from the Malophoros sanctuary at Selinus (Gabrici 1927, 194–195, pl. 31.1,2).
- 29 On early representations of Heracles and the bull see Kunze 1950, 95–102; Schefold 1978, 103–104; Brommer 1974, 30–32; *LIMC* IV.1, 59–63 (L. Todisco).
- 30 This has frequently been observed: Giuliani 1979, 53–54; Kunze 1950, 97; and elsewhere. On the early representations of the lion-fight: Kunze 1950, 95–102; Brommer 1974, 7–11; Schefold 1993, 235–237; *LIMC* IV.1, 18, nos 1775–1778 (W. Felten). It also appears on the Agrigentine terracotta pinax cited n. 28 above. The bull-fight, in the same composition, is also represented on an approximately contemporary terracotta arula from Sicily, quite possibly Selinus, now in the Mormino collection in Palermo: Tusa 1971, 19–20, pl. 1b (not in *LIMC*).
- 31 The coins: Rizzo 1945–46, 165–169, pls 31–33; Lacroix 1965, 34–42; Kraay 1976, 220, pl. 46 no. 788; *LIMC* IV.1, 61 no. 2316, pl. 74. The sealings: A. Salinas in *NSc* 1883, 295–297, pls 7–8, and Lacroix cit.
- 32 Tusa 1983, 110–111 no. 2, pl. 29; Giuliani 1979, 37–43. See also Tusa 1969, 162–168, for the first preliminary publication.
- 33 Østby 1987, 136; Ross Holloway 1988, 180; id. 1991, 77. Other proposals: epiphany of Demeter and Kore (Tusa 1969, 163–166, and id. 1983, 110, identifying the centrally placed charioteer as female; Giuliani 1979, 39–40; *LIMC* IV.1, 869 no. 298 [L. Beschi]); Hera and Athena (Zancani Montuoro 1984a, 225–229, with a correct explanation of the gestures).
- 34 For the composition see Østby 1987, 153 n. 124, and Blome 1982, 68–69, for the models from Cretan orientaling art. See below, n. 49, for the frontal quadrigae in pediments, and Hafner 1938 for the general development of the motive.
- 35 See n. 52 below on the evidence for this.
- 36 Giuliani 1979, 58–62; Tusa 1983, 111–112 no. 3, pl. 30; Østby 1987, 136. The relief was recomposed from several fragments and the subject correctly identified by Gabrici

- 1936; see also Götze 1939 for the interpretation.
- 37 See *RE* Suppl. V, 1931 s.v. Leto, 555–565 (F. Wehrli) for the places where she was worshipped; no Sicilian locality is included. On Leto at Delphi, where her position also was modest: *RE* cit. 564; Roux 1971, 173–174. At Megara Nisaea, the evidence for a statue of her in a temple for Apollo (Paus. 1.44.2) and for a sanctuary for him with the epiclesis Latoos (Paus. 1.44.10) does not suffice to establish that she had a cult there.
- 38 Her position on Delos is discussed by Gallet de Santerre 1958, 143–147 and 257–258; also *RE* cit., 560–561.
- 39 *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 1–18; in this Delian prooemium he is greeted by Leto at his arrival, but carrying the bow and arrows. In the Delphian prooemium (179–206) he arrives with the lyra, but Leto is less prominent. In Attic black-figure representations of the group, conveniently listed in *LIMC* II.1, 261–262 (M. Dumas), Apollo is as a regular rule placed centrally between his mother and sister, carrying the lyra. A similar scene, showing Apollo's arrival in front of Artemis without Leto, is represented on a votive relief from Paros which also provides a striking parallel for the style: Neumann 1979, 12, pl. 6a; Østby 2000, 294 fig. 194.
- 40 Tusa 1983, 109 no. 1, pl. 30; Giuliani 1979, 63–66; and Tusa 1969, 155–162, for the initial report. See also Østby 1987, 137, and Zancani Montuoro 1984b.
- 41 This was first proposed by Bovio Marconi 1969, 13, then by Zancani Montuoro 1984b; Østby 1987, 137, n. 52. Other proposals include torches (Tusa 1983, 109, and id. 1969, 156–158, where a spike of grain are suggested as a possible alternative for the object held by the central figure); or spindles (Giuliani 1979, 65–66, arguing for an identification as the Moirai).
- 42 Correctly observed by Tusa 1969, 156, and id. 1983, 109. This important detail was seen, but not used, by Giuliani 1979, 65, and disregarded by Zancani Montuoro 1984b. Compare n. 96 below.
- 43 See n. 41 above for the identification as Moirai, and Zancani Montuoro 1984b for another as Charites. Tusa 1983, 109, also identifies the central figure as Demeter, but with Kore behind her and Hecate in front of her; so also *LIMC* IV.1, 872 no. 330 (L. Beschi). It seems more likely, however, that the more important meeting between Demeter and Kore is represented; Tusa mentions it among some other options 1969, 157–159.
- 44 *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 380–392, for the reunion, and 437–439 for the arrival of Hecate as a witness; already Tusa 1969, 157, and id. 1983, 109, has based his interpretation on these passages. The analogies in the topographical arrangements between Selinus and Eleusis were observed by Pareti 1914, 249–250, and Gabrici 1927, 109–110 and 406; see also Zuntz 1971, 98–99, for Hecate's function as a gate-keeper. See for early, cultural connections between Eleusis and Megara Nisaea Hanell 1934, 50–54; *ibid.* 174–181, and Pareti 1914, 245–250, for cults of these goddesses in cities of Megarian origin.
- 45 Ross Holloway 1988, 180, and id. 1991, 75–77, touches on this aspect, but stresses primarily the metopes from Temple C where it is less relevant. See below with ns. 56 and 105.
- 46 See ns. 8 and 11 above for these groups.
- 47 See for the circumstances of discovery and the positions of the metopes Angell and Evans 1826, 44, 47 and 51; Østby 1987, 139. These indications are confirmed and supplemented by original documentary material recently recovered and published by Marconi 1995 (esp. 49–50, and the conclusion, 65). It has repeatedly been stated that some of the fragments derive from relief metopes at the rear front of the building, but there is no evidence to support this; recently on this Giuliani 1979, 33; Junker 1993, 133; Marconi 1995, 47–48. Angell and Evans 1826, 34, expressly stated that only the metopes on the eastern front had relief metopes.
- 48 Tusa 1983, 114–115 no. 7, pls 2–4; Giuliani 1979, 27–33; Østby 1987, 139–140. The fragments of the neighbouring metope were mentioned by Angell and Evans 1826, 46, and somewhat more precisely by Serradifalco 1834, 101 n. 46, who describes a piece of the lower frame with horse-hoofs attached (never identified). Two fragmentary horse-legs of material, size and workmanship similar to the horses on the better preserved metope exist among the fragments from the Selinus metopes (NI 14766 and 14771); they are not included by Tusa 1983. Marconi 1995, 57–58, is reluctant to admit a second quadriga metope, which the balance of the frieze decoration in any case requires and which is well supported particularly by the words of Serradifalco.
- 49 See Bookidis 1979, 62–63 and 68–75, for the quadriga pediments from Delphi; on the pediments from the temple of Apollo also Knell 1990, 43–51. Also the east pediment of the late archaic temple for Athena Polias on the Acropolis of Athens probably had this arrangement: Knell 1990, 40–41 with fig. 56. See Lapalus 1947, 378–380, for the tendency to let the temple deity occupy the centre of pediments.
- 50 Gabrici 1933–35, 196–198, pls 32–33; Belson 2001.II, 151–153. There was a gorgoneion in both pediments. See n. 13 above for such pediment gorgoneia in Sicily generally.
- 51 This was overlooked in the important article by Studniczka 1926, where the identification of the central figure as Apollo was established, but the neighbouring metope was not considered and the lateral figures thus wrongly identified as Artemis and Leto. This interpretation is still frequently repeated, so e.g. Tusa 1983, 115, and Marconi 1995, 65; correctly Giuliani 1979, 29, and *LIMC* II.1, 268 no. 684c (W. Lambrinoudakis), where horae are suggested as a likely interpretation for the two lateral figures.
- 52 Temple C has repeatedly and probably correctly been seen as a temple of Apollo: Benndorf 1873, 34–35; Tusa 1983, 115; Kerényi 1966, 6; Tusa 1967, 192; Di Vita 1967, 40–41 (who sees the two altars in front of the temple as evidence for a cult of two deities); Béjor 1977, 442–443 and 448–449. Apollo was a principal deity at Megara Nisaea and several Megarian colonies, so this seems likely also for Selinus: Pareti 1914, 236–241, Hanell 1934, 83–91 and 164–174, where also common cults for Apollo and Artemis are discussed (169–170).
- 53 Schwabacher 1925; Rizzo 1945–46, 165–169, pls 31–33; Lacroix 1965, 30–34; Kraay 1976, 220–221, pl. 46.787.
- 54 Tusa 1983, 115–117 nos 8–9, pls 5–8; Giuliani 1979, 15–27; Østby 1987, 140–141.
- 55 Perseus decapitating Medusa: *LIMC* VII.1, 339–340 nos 112–129 (L. Jones Rocco); Kunze 1950, 136–139; Schauenburg 1960, 21–30; Schefold 1978, 81–84, and id. 1993, 76–88. Heracles and the Cercopes: *LIMC* VI.1, 32–35 (S. Woodford); Kunze 1950, 117–119; Schefold 1978, 135–136; Brommer 1984, 28–32. The Sele metope: Zancani Montuoro 1954, 185–195, pls 35 and 69–71. The subject is also found on a small terracotta relief from Agrigento: *FA*

- 10, 1955, 110 no. 1453, fig. 19; *LIMC* VII.1, 33 no. 1.
- 56 This metope and the iconographical tradition where it belongs have been thoroughly discussed by Østby 1996; see also Giuliani 1979, 67–71, where the interpretation was first suggested based on two fragments (and the metope is considered as a later addition, for no good reason). The fragments are listed by Tusa 1983, 126–130 nos 21, 22 and 30; also Marconi 1995, 37, figs 4–5. A different interpretation, as Zeus meeting Hera on the pattern of the later metope from Temple E (Ross Holloway 1988, 180; id. 1991, 77), does not include the third fragment and does not account for the violence which the entire composition implies. Thus the C metopes are not really relevant for his concept of an assembly of local divinities.
- 57 The murder of Aigisthos: *LIMC* I.1, 371–379 (R.M. Gais); Schefold 1993, 335–336; and for the shield–straps Kunze 1950, 168–169, I c, pl. 6. The murder of Clytaimnestra: *LIMC* VI.1, 77–79 (Y. Morizot). Generally on the whole tradition, discussing both literary and iconographical evidence: Prag 1985.
- 58 Already by Benndorf 1873, 64, and Katterfeld 1911, 17–18.
- 59 See for these fragments Giuliani 1979, 33–36; Tusa 1983, 127–129 nos 23, 26 and 27, and 134–135 nos 46, 47 and 45. See also Marconi 1995, esp. 55–58 and 64–67, who identifies other fragments and attempts to locate them in the frieze. He proposes some identifications, but on very vague criteria, and suggests Argive mythical genealogy as a possible connecting thread between the subjects; this was also touched by Lacroix 1965, 39. This attractive suggestion may easily coexist with the ideas proposed here.
- 60 Rodenwaldt 1939, 12–13, pl. 1; Lapalus 1947, 153 and 274–275. A similar, close correlation between the frieze and the pediment sculptures, but only on the formal level, can be observed in the temple of Zeus at Olympia: Grunauer 1974, 39–45; Knell 1990, 86.
- 61 On this date, which contrasts with various other proposals pulling them back to the first half of the century, see Østby 1982, esp. 21–29, and id. 1987, 128–131. The early date of the temple is still repeated (so e.g. Gruben 2001, 301–306); but the topographical context supports the later date, as argued by Østby 1995, 87–92.
- 62 The study of this temple has to date not proceeded beyond Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, 106–110, pl. 13. The arguments for the late date are given by Østby 1987, 130–131, and id. 1995, 94–97: the temple is structurally joined with the temenos wall immediately behind it, and must be contemporary with it. It may have been dedicated to Athena: Béjor 1977, 449–450.
- 63 Tusa 1983, 127–128 no. 25, pl. 32; if from a pediment, it could only come from a small one inside the building. That it is part of a gigantomachy is also the opinion of Vian 1952, 119, and id. in *LIMC* IV.1, 200 no. 14, pl. 111. On the temple: Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, 121–127, pl. 17; Gruben 2001, 310–314; for the date, Østby 1995, 96–97. It is now generally agreed that it was dedicated to Zeus: Béjor 1977, 440–442.
- 64 See n. 66 below for some figural pediment groups in the early 5th century in Sicily; add the new composition which replaced the old Medusa mask in Temple B at Himera (see n. 12 above) and some marble figures from a small pediment somewhere in the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinus (E. Østby in *Stile severo* 1990, 225–227 nos 71–73). See also Bookidis 1979, 427–429.
- 65 See for the temple Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, 117–121 pl. 16, Gruben 2001, 307–309; and n. 69 below for the date.
- 66 This is attested by Diod. Sic. 13.82.1–4 for one of the pediments of the Olympieion at Akragas (see De Waele 1982 and Barbanera 1995, 77–83, for preserved fragments), is proposed also for a pediment in the temple “of Heracles” there (Barbanera 1995, *passim*), and has been suggested for a pediment of the temple of Nike at Himera by Bonacasa 1982, 299–301; id. in *Stile severo* 1990, 174–176, no. 9; id. 1992, 146–148. If the Megarian treasury at Olympia was dedicated by Megara Hyblaea rather than Megara Nisaea, the gigantomachy pediment from this building would make another example; but this is doubtful (see Morgan 1999, 419–420, for a discussion). On gigantomachies in mainland pediments: Lapalus 1947, 388–397, Vian 1952, 112–116, and Martini 1990, 234–240; see also Vian 1952, 119–120, Marconi 1994, 292–298, and Barbanera 1995, 89–96, on the gigantomachy in Sicily, Selinus and Akragas.
- 67 The metopes: Bookidis 1979, 215–217; Giuliani 1979, 73–74; Tusa 1983, 118–119 nos 10–11, pls 9–10; Østby 1987, 143–144; id. in *Stile severo* 1990, 176–187 (186–187 on the fragments from an Ionic frieze); id. 2000, 295–296. Marconi 1995 gives important information on the discovery, particularly on the fragments. On the recomposition of one metope of fragments from two different ones: Østby 1987, 143 n. 80, and id. in *Stile severo* 1990, 178; Marconi 1995, 51–55, has now confirmed this with documentary evidence. The reliefs were all discovered at the eastern front (Angell and Evans 1826, 31 and 37–38), and there is no evidence for relief metopes in other positions.
- 68 See for these parallels Barletta 1983, 210–211 n. 127; Østby 2000, 295 n. 30. The same feature recurs on the somewhat later metope with Eos and Kephalos (see n. 111 below).
- 69 For the date, Giuliani 1979, 73–74; also Østby 1987, 131; id. in *Stile severo* 1990, 176; and id. 2000, 295–296. Fine parallels for the special fold systems in the garments of the male god can be seen in the early classical Cycladic works discussed by Zapheirou 1999. When discussed isolated, the temple has mostly been dated about 530–525 by normal, typological criteria (so still Gruben 2001, 307); G. Gullini in *Sikanie* 1985, 443–444 with n. 40, claims to have evidence from recent field-work supporting this. If this is correct, a longish interruption of the work must be assumed before the entablature and the metopes were made. See Østby 1995, 96–97, for the later date in the early 5th century.
- 70 See Østby 1987, 144; Vian 1952, 47–68 (the trias), 68–71 (Hera), and 96–104. Generally on the iconography of the gigantomachy Vian 1952; Schefold 1978, 54–66; and *LIMC* IV.1, 191–270 (F. Vian).
- 71 As argued Østby 1987, 144–145, and id. in *Stile severo* 1990, 176. Various other identifications have been proposed in the works cited above, n. 52; see also Junker 2003, 231 with n. 18, who rightly emphasises the extremely meagre evidence for the frequently repeated attribution to Athena (above n. 62 for the dedication of Temple D to this goddess). On the cult of Heracles at Selinus and in other Megarian cities, see Pareti 1914, 234–236. See also Vian 1985, 256–258, for the importance of Heracles in archaic literary versions of the gigantomachy, and Valenza Mele 1979 for ancient traditions, probably of Euboean origin, connecting him and the gigantomachy with the Greek West.
- 72 Angell and Evans 1826, 38 n. 1 and 40, and Marconi

- 1995, 50–55, for the positions in the frieze (also 59–62, for the location of some fragments). The identification of the goddess from position 3 has wavered between Athena (so still Giuliani 1979, 73, and Marconi 1995, 55 n. 243) and Artemis (Østby 1987, 145, and id. in *Stile severo* 1990, 178); the male god in position 2 has mostly been identified with Dionysos (Tusa 1983, 118; Marconi 1995, 50; etc.), but next to Artemis Apollo seems in this context more probable (so Østby 1987, 145, and id. in *Stile severo* 1990, 177). See Vian 1952, 81–82 and 85, for a useful discussion.
- 73 In the Western environment, a close and only slightly earlier example of the same concept is found in the late archaic temple of Hera at the Sele sanctuary: Junker 1993, 134–135; Zancani Montuoro 1951, 123–161.
- 74 Most recently on the identification: Marconi 1994, 137; Junker 2003, 228–231. The inscription: *IG* 14.271; Manni Piraino 1973, 85–86 no. 55; Junker 2003, 249 n. 85, with literature. For the architecture of the temple, Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, 127–131 with pl. 18, remains indispensable, awaiting a full publication of G. Gullini's recent work; see also Gruben 2001, 314–318. The date is now fixed to about 460–450 by recent excavations: see Marconi 1994, 137 and n. 5 p. 243–244. See for the earlier buildings on the site Gullini 1981, 104–112, and id. in *Sikanie* 1985, 431–432.
- 75 See Østby 1995, 98–99, for this connection.
- 76 See for the position of the metopes Junker 2003, 232–233 (n. 26 for some proposed explanations), and n. 6 above.
- 77 See for the circumstances of discovery Gabrici 1919–20; Østby 1988; Marconi 1994, 23–48, quoting original documentation 33–43. See also the instructive illustrations *ibid.* 114–115.
- 78 This situation is certainly the result of a destruction by earthquake: Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, 127; Marconi 1994, 221.
- 79 After Benndorf 1873, 61, who concluded with a cautious “lack of evidence”, this approach has more recently been expressed e.g. by Kähler 1949, 75, and Ridgway 1970, 24. See also Junker 2003, 245 with n. 72. The argument adopted here was first expressed by Østby 1987, 146, and is reflected by Marconi 1994, 307–308; also S. Settis *ibid.* 17–18.
- 80 See below n. 84 for the conscious choice of the Heracles-amazone motive directed by this principle. After Benndorf 1873, 61, the opposition male-female is seen as a basic theme e.g. by Giuliani 1979, 79–80; Østby 1988; Ross Holloway 1991, 104; Junker 2003, 254–257. Fuchs 1956, 103 (who calls it “ein mehr als gefährlicher Analogieschluss”) and Marconi 1994, 147, explicitly reject this as a general principle for the decoration. Both assume reliefs with three figures in their reconstructions of lost metopes, which is easier to admit, since such cases occur also in other metope decorations generally based on two-figured compositions (temple of Zeus at Olympia, the Parthenon); Marconi 1994, 223–224 on this.
- 81 Tusa 1983, 119–120 no. 12, pls 11 and 13–14; Østby in *Stile severo* 1990, 188 no. 25; Marconi 1994, 58–61, 140–142 and 268–276.
- 82 Certainly not a club, as regularly stated after Benndorf 1873, 53–54; so also Marconi 1994, 141, and Junker 2003, 239. In addition to the quiver emerging from his left side, there are traces of an empty scabbard at this point; the club would not be an efficient weapon unless it was raised above his head. In the group of the tyrannicides Aristogeiton, whose posture Heracles closely repeats, certainly used a sword (see Marconi 1994, 205–206, for remarks on the connection). Similar bronze integrations were used elsewhere on these metopes and earlier in those from Temple F.
- 83 Thoroughly on this subject von Bothmer 1957 (119–120 on the metope); *LIMC* I.1, 587–597 (A. Kauffmann-Samaras); also Brommer 1974, 35–38, and Schefold 1978, 103–113. See also Marconi 1994, 268–276. In Attic vase-painting Heracles mostly smites a fallen amazone; the closest parallel in vase painting to our composition seems to be a crater near the Göttingen Painter, *ARV²* 234.2 (von Bothmer 1957, 132 no. 14, pl. 70.3). The parallel with metope 4 from the west frieze of the Parthenon (Brommer 1967, 8–9, fig. 14 p. 190 and pls 11–12) is better, so close that a common model may be presumed.
- 84 Østby 1987, 146. This important point, which contributes to confirm the male-female pattern as a general rule, is touched also by Junker 2003, 256.
- 85 Tusa 1983, 121–122 no. 14, pls 17–19; Østby in *Stile severo* 1990, 192 no. 27; Marconi 1994, 66–69, 145–147 and 258–268.
- 86 Actaeon regularly defends himself in early pictures where the transformation is not shown (*LIMC* I.1, 456, nos 6 and 18, with a sword; no. 7; with a lance; nos 16, 17, with a club), and in later pictures where his transformation is mostly limited to horns in his head (*ibid.* 458–459, nos 34, 45, 46, 47, 48a, 49; 462, nos 81, 83a).
- 87 The motive of the hide is said to go back to Stesichoros (*PMG* 124 no. 236; Paus. 9.2.3), and it may also have been convenient for representing the transformation on the stage. Other representations of Actaeon covered by the hide are listed *LIMC* I.1, 457 nos 26–31; only on nos 29 and 30 does he defend himself (with a small club).
- 88 See for the mythological and literary traditions concerning Actaeon *LIMC* I.1, 454 (L. Guimond); *RE* I.1 s.v. Aktaion, 1209–1211 (G. Wentzel); Lacy 1990; Forbes Irving 1990, 80–90 and 197–201; Marconi 1994, 258–260. Pictorial representations: *LIMC* I.1, 454–469; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 142–165; Schefold 1981, 137–146.
- 89 An early origin also for this motive is argued by Lacy 1990, but not very convincingly.
- 90 That the Semele theme, attested for Stesichoros (n. 87 above), also was used by Aischylos has regularly been accepted and has some support in contemporary iconography (Mette 1963, 134–136; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 142–150). But Séchan 1926, 135–136, has a good point when he states that both motivations may have coexisted within the same drama. Schefold 1981, 142, seems to accept only the boasting for Aischylos' drama. Two fine vase paintings of the mid-5th century seem to reflect each one of these versions: *LIMC* I.1, 462 nos 81 and 83a, pl. 357.
- 91 Tusa 1983, 120–121 no. 13, pls 12 and 15–16; Østby in *Stile severo* 1990, 190 no. 26; Marconi 1994, 62–65, 142–144 and 276–290; Junker 2003, 241–244, who justly emphasizes the exceptional character of this relief (but nevertheless attempts to explain it by inadequate references to chronologically distant iconography). After Benndorf 1873, 55–56, the connection with the passage in the *Iliad* is still accepted by Tusa cit. and by Junker 2003, 243, but justly rejected by Fuchs 1956, 110, and Marconi 1994, 283–285. Cook 1940, 1032–1042, discusses and illustrates other representations tentatively connected with the same episode – all later (late classical and hellenistic) and mostly of unclear interpretation.

- 92 Following Benndorf 1873, 56, a Pompeian painting from the House of the Tragic Poet, based on a probably Pergamene original (*LIMC* IV.1, 684–685 no. 210, pl. 416), has often been cited as support for the Zeus-Hera interpretation. But apart from the chronological gap, different interpretations for the painting have been argued by Curtius 1929 (Zeus and Cybele) and Simon 1990, 199 (Cronos and Rhea).
- 93 See for these illustrations *LIMC* IV.1, 683–686 nos 211–234, and 686–690 nos 234a–286 for other representations where they are shown together (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); and Simon 1953, 58–66, specially on the couples pouring libations. On hierogamies in Attic representations also Cook 1940, 1047–1062. Both are seated on *LIMC* cit. nos 211–226, both standing nos 227–234.
- 94 Hera is occasionally standing behind her husband (*LIMC* IV.1, nos 238, 248); standing in front of the seated Zeus, eagerly gesticulating, only on the black-figured amphora *LIMC* IV.1, 687 no. 243 (*ABV* 320.1); same composition on some later Italiote 4th century vase paintings (*LIMC* IV.1, 687–688 nos 252–254). She is throwing her veil aside for Zeus on the Parthenon frieze (*LIMC* IV.1, 684 no. 208), both are seated, they do not touch. Both seated, Hera with her head covered and Zeus touching her chin, on a famous kylix with divine couples by the Kodros painter (*LIMC* IV.1, 687 no. 250; *ARV²* 1269.3). The veil-motif becomes more frequent with her in post-classical periods.
- 95 For the unveiling see Toutain 1940 (349–353 on this relief), and Simon 1953, 59–60; for the grasp of the wrist Neumann 1965, 59–64. This gesture is quite frequent in early archaic hierogamy representations, where Hera and Zeus are more or less safely identified in some cases, but quite frequently with her grasping his wrist rather than the opposite: *LIMC* IV.1, 683–684 nos 197–202; Fittschen 1969, 132–142, for a full list. These pictures can hardly be claimed as iconographically relevant for the illustration on the metope, as Junker 2003, 242, does. See also Marconi 1994, 277–279. Both gestures appear together on certain wedding representations: Neumann 1965, 63, fig. 29, *ARV²* 1127.14 (a loutrophoros); Marconi 1994, 278 fig. 134, *ARV²* 924.33 (a pyxis); etc.
- 96 Good discussion of the special character of her dress and attire in Junker 2003, 235–236 (better than Marconi 1994, 219–220, claiming this as normal for the period in the Western environment). On the metope she is barefoot, as also on the two wedding representations cited last note: Marconi 1994, 286–287 sees this as significant, but there are several other such cases in the complex, as Junker 2003, 253, usefully points out.
- 97 This is the interpretation which has been argued by Østby 1987, 148–149; id. 1988, 205; id. in *Stile severo* 1990, 190; previously also by Toutain 1940, 349–353, on similar lines. See ns. 102 and 103 below for critical remarks. The feast of the unveiling: Schol. to Pindar, *Ol.* 6.160 (to v. 96); Sicily as gift to Kore: Pind. *Nem.* 1.13; Diod. Sic. 5.2; Plut. *Timol.* 8. See for these feasts e.g. Zuntz 1971, 71; Bell III 1981, 98–103; Sfameni Gasparro 1986, 144–150. There is also some evidence for cults of the couple in Megarian colonies elsewhere: Pareti 1914, 23–24. Her importance at Selinus is clearly demonstrated by her local name, Pasikrateia, on the inscription from Temple G (n. 74 above); see for this interesting remarks by Zuntz 1971, 103–105, and Kingsley 1995, 243.
- 98 *LIMC* IV.1, 375–379 with figs. (R. Lindner); Prückner 1968, 75–76 with fig. 14 and pl. 22. See also an extensive discussion of these illustrations and their background by Giuffrè Scibona 1986–87.
- 99 The abduction plaques: *LIMC* IV. 1, 379 no. 63–66; Prückner 1968, 68–70 (112 no. 3 and pl. 12.1 for the fragment from the Malophoros sanctuary). The relief: Tusa 1983, 124–125 no. 18, pl. 31; Lindner 1984, 12–13; *LIMC* IV.1, 381 no. 80. See Zuntz 1971, 176, for cultural and religious connections between Selinus and Locri.
- 100 Generally on their iconography: *LIMC* IV.1, 370–394 (R. Lindner) and VIII.1, 956–978 (G. Güntner); Peschlow-Bindokat 1972; Lindner 1984 (on the abduction pictures); Clinton 1992, 105–113 (attempting to establish separate iconographies for Pluton and Hades). The black-figured amphorae: *LIMC* IV.1, 384 no. 121, pl. 219; *ABV* 383.12 (both seated, Sisyphos between them); *LIMC* IV.1, 387 no. 148, pl. 233; *ABV* 373.176 (she standing in front of him as if leaving, but turning her head back to him and lifting the veil from her shoulder). The kylix from the Brygos circle was interpreted as here by Simon 1953, 73–75, followed by *ARV²* 415.2 (not in *LIMC*).
- 101 Persephone is standing in front of the seated Hades on a white-ground lekythos (Simon 1953, 73; *LIMC* IV.1, 372–373 no. 22, pl. 219; *ARV²* 750.a), and on a fragmentary red-figured amphora from Eleusis (*LIMC* IV.1, 372 no. 21). The same composition then reappears on Italiote vases with underworld representations (*LIMC* IV.1, 385–386 nos 131–134; Schauenburg 1984). Hades is grasping Persephone's arm on a red-figured kalpis showing their departure on a chariot: *LIMC* IV.1, 380 no. 81; Lindner 1984, 15–16; *ARV²* 1112.3.
- 102 The situation is well expressed by Benndorf 1873, 55: “wirbt nicht, sondern macht ein Recht geltend”. Similarly Junker 2003, 243: “mehr ein Inbesitznehmen als ein Werben”. On the “lithos agelastos”: Simon 1953, 73–74; Richardson 1974, 219–221; Clinton 1992, 14–27. The erotic atmosphere in the picture, particularly evident in the male god, has been used as an argument against the Hades-Persephone interpretation (Marconi 1994, 282–283; Junker 2003, 252); it is unusual for this couple, but inherent in the myth.
- 103 There is a good discussion of these principles, in need of updating, in Méautis 1932, 75–83; see also La Coste-Messelière 1936, 316–318. (A Tübingen dissertation on this problem by H. Luschey has to my knowledge never been published, and has not been accessible to me.) Criticism raised against the Hades-Persephone interpretation (Marconi 1994, 282–283; Junker 2003, 240 n. 57) has so far avoided to address this issue. Fuchs 1956, 114–115, proposes for metope 3 the same gods, Zeus and Hera, enthroned and pouring libations in front of each other as on the Attic vases cited n. 93; he does not mention the hand with the possible thunderbolt (see below). He thus assumes that the same gods were represented on both metopes, which is possible, but would run against that search for diversity which seems to emerge from the rest of the decoration. Marconi 1994, 231–233 (and 120–121, 224–225, for a reconstruction including some fragments), following Benndorf 1873, 56 n. 4, proposes Rhea and Kronos, both standing – but quoting in support the same Pompeian painting mentioned n. 92 as interpreted by Simon 1990, 199, where the god is seated. None of the fragments ascribed by him to this metope excludes an interpretation as Hera and Zeus.
- 104 Mentioned by Villareale, as cited by Gabrici 1919–20, 124, and Marconi 1994, 36 (who is, however, strangely reluctant

- to admit this piece of documentary evidence: 178 no. 54). The piece has not been identified in the fragment material in the Palermo museum.
- 105 Junker 2003, 247–254, develops the issue of the divine assemblies at considerable length. It is certainly relevant, and has moreover a basis in local traditions (which escapes him), but does not exclude other possible concerns discussed below. Ross Holloway 1988, 179–180, and id. 1991, 75–77, has touched this issue for the archaic groups, but connects them far too closely with the gods mentioned on the famous inscription from Temple G (n. 74 above); good on this Junker 2003, 248–249 n. 84. See also ns. 45 and 56 above.
 - 106 Tusa 1983, 136 no. 53, pl. 35; Østby in *Stile severo* 1990, 200 no. 31; Marconi 1994, 88–89 and 155–156 no. 14. Since Benndorf 1873, 60, there has been some confusion about this head (still repeated by Tusa, cit.), but there is no doubt that it is identical with the head reported by Villareale from this position: Fuchs 1956, 114 n. 51; Østby 1987, 149 n. 112; Marconi 1994, 156.
 - 107 Tusa 1983, 122–123 no. 15, pl. 21; Østby in *Stile severo* 1990, 194 no. 28; Marconi 1994, 70–73, 147–149 and 290–298. Marconi locates this metope in position 1 and the next in position 2 (227–228), but this is not clearly established by the report from the discovery. See n. 66 above for gigantomachies at Akragas and Himera.
 - 108 Tusa 1983, 123 no. 16, Østby in *Stile severo* 1990, 196 no. 29; Marconi 1994, 74–76, 149–150 (with the assignment of some fragments) and 298–303; Junker 2003, 239–240. Only Marconi considers certain this identification; see his n. 187, pp. 324–325, for other proposals. The marble head tentatively connected with this metope by Østby cit., 202–203 no. 34, is by Marconi 1994, 161–163 no. 19 and 229–230, connected with the Calydonian hunt in position 6. According to the documentation published by Marconi 1994, 40, the head seems to have been found in the adyton near the statue base, and a provenience from the southern, right-hand part of the frieze seems for that reason likely.
 - 109 See for these subjects conveniently Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, and a general discussion by A. Stewart in Reeder 1995, 74–89. On Apollo in these situations Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 32–34 and 102–103; Schefold 1981, 205–208; *LIMC* III.1, 344–348 (O. Palagia), where this metope is not included.
 - 110 See for this subject Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 16–21, 81–93, and 43–58 on the general significance of the motive; Schefold 1981, 307–318; *LIMC* III.1, 758–779 (C. Wein).
 - 111 The arula: Gabrici 1927, 196, pl. 36; *LIMC* III.1, 771 no. 225. The metope: Tusa 1984, 123–124 no. 17; Østby in *Stile severo* 1990, 220 no. 66; Marconi 1994, 212–213; *LIMC* III.1, 764 no. 127. A late archaic terracotta arula with the motive has recently been discovered at Gela: R. Panvini in Bennett and Paul (eds) 2002, 252–253.
 - 112 This is the head Tusa 1983, 135–136 no. 50; Østby in *Stile severo* 1990, 198 no. 30; Marconi 1994, 90–91 and 156–157 no. 15. See Østby 1988, 202–204, for the argument behind the location of the head in metope 1 and the tentative identification, superficially rejected by Junker 2003, 246 n. 75. Marconi 1994, 122, 226–227 and 236, connects the head with a presumed representation of the Proitos-daughters in position 5 for which there is no satisfactory evidence.
 - 113 Serradifalco 1834, 69, pl. 35.14; Benndorf 1873, 61–62; Marconi 1994, 178 no. 56. The paw of a dog, closely similar to the dogs on the Actaeon metope: Østby in *Stile severo* 1990, 219 no. 65; Marconi 1994, 177 no. 52.
 - 114 Presumed already by Benndorf 1873, 60; Giuliani 1979, 79–80; Marconi 1994, 130–131 (reconstructions) and 228–229 with n. 167; Østby 1987, 147; id. 1988, 203; doubtful Junker 2003, 240–241. On the subject: *LIMC* II.1, 940–950 (J. Boardman); Daltrop 1966; Schefold 1989, 47–52 (suggesting, 48, that not the hunt, but the delivery of the hide was represented). If this is correct, this would be a metope without the representation of a god. The head formerly in a German private collection, proposed for this metope by Brommer 1985, does not belong to the complex: it is too small.
 - 115 Tusa 1983, 136–137 nos 51 and 54, pls 37–38; Østby in *Stile severo* 1990, 201–202 nos 32–33; Marconi 1994, 92–95 and 158–161 nos 17–18. Stylistic and technical differences from the marble heads of the pronaos (clearly described by Marconi 1994, 179–181) confirm their origin from the west metopes, probably the central ones; see Østby 1988, 203. Marconi 1994, 124–127 and 239–240, reconstructs with these heads groups with Ares-Aphrodite and Poseidon-Amphitrite – absolutely hypothetical, but less unlikely than some of his other reconstructions. According to him, the heads were set to be seen in profile.
 - 116 Østby 1988, 202–204, where also possible formal principles are discussed. Other scholars addressing this issue (Fuchs 1956; Marconi 1994; see n. 120 below) have assumed less strict principles, and have thus been free to reach very different results. See n. 80 above for the opposition male-female.
 - 117 See Østby 1987, 149–150, and id. 1988, 207–208; Giuliani 1979, 79–80, first suggested the connection. Superficial criticism by Junker 2003, 246–247, and Marconi 1994, 313. The list is transmitted by Aristotle, *Metaph.* A5, 986a22, and is quoted and discussed by Kirk, Raven and Schofield 1983, 337–339 no. 438, where it is considered a fairly late item, possibly influenced by the Eleates; but Guthrie I, 1962, 245–249, or Raven 1948, 33–35, see it as part of an original tradition. See Guthrie 245–246, and Raven 11–12, for its moral implications. It is of some interest in this context that a decoration based on two-figured groups of male and female recurs in the presumed “Neo-Pythagorean” subterranean basilica in Rome (Carcopino 1926).
 - 118 Østby 1987, 150; id. 1988, 207–208. Also Ross Holloway 1991, 104, approaches this idea. For Empedocles and his system, see Guthrie II, 1965, 122–165 (144–146 for the identification of the elements; 152–159 for the dynamic forces); Kirk, Raven and Schofield 1983, 280–321 (the important fragments are quoted 286–291, nos 346–349); Kingsley 1995, 13–48 for the elements; *passim*, 217–317, for his connection with the Pythagoreans; and 348–358 for the almost certain identification of the Empedoclean Nestis with Persephone. On his connection with the Pythagoreans also Zuntz 1971, 232–234 and 264–266; Marconi 1994, 300–303, and Kingsley 1995, 272–277, on his presumed activities at Selinus.
 - 119 The ambitious and fanciful reconstruction of lost metopes proposed by Marconi 1994 cannot convince, although his thorough research on the fragment material and assignments to positions in the frieze will certainly prove useful to future studies. See Junker 2003, 246 n. 76, for the recensions.
 - 120 This position is also taken by other recent scholars (Fuchs 1956; Marconi 1994, 307–313; Junker 2003); their attempts of reconstruction and analysis vary widely, but traditions

and influences from the earlier metope groups have not been considered by them. Until recently it has been argued that the subjects were chosen and organized casually or only from artistic motives; see n. 79 above.

- 121 Given the other evidence for contacts between Selinus and Locri (see n. 99 above), it is nevertheless suggestive to find the two attested motives from the opisthodomē metopes, the gigantomachy and the love pursuit, repeated side by side as the decoration of a chest on a Locrian pinax: Prückner 1968, 40, pl. 4.4. But this limited evidence does not allow any far-reaching conclusions.
- 122 See ns. 64 and 66 above.
- 123 See n. 8 above for different analyses of the early metopes from the Sele sanctuary. The metopes from the late archaic

temple distribute one subject on the entire frieze, as normal in Greece and also in Temple F at Selinus; see Zancani Montuoro 1951, 123–161, and Junker 1993, 134–135, with literature.

- 124 This point is also made by Junker 1993, 108.
- 125 The problems of continuity in this material, formal and otherwise, have been discussed by Østby 1982, 1987 (esp. 133–135 and 150), and 2000. The exact identity of the groups or individuals who carried these traditions through periods of political tumults and unrest is impossible to define precisely; certain priesthoods handed down within distinct aristocratic kinship lines may be as good a guess as any (so, tentatively, Østby 1987, 150; against, Marconi 1994, 313).

Exchange and Influence: Hybridity and the Gate Reliefs of Thasos

Justin St. P. Walsh

Introduction

For at least a decade, scholars examining colonial influences on the material culture of indigenous populations in the ancient Mediterranean have found recourse in the concept of hybridity.¹ These investigators have recognized that in situations where different cultural groups meet and mix, artifactual and behavioral traits from both the dominant and the subordinate cultures mix, too. Those traits – what might, in other arenas of discourse, be called “memes” – are subsequently given new and localized meanings. The result is something that is neither one culture nor the other, but rather is new and different, something “in between”: a hybrid.² This paper examines archaic and classical Thasos as a colonial context in which individuals belonging to different ethnic groups met and negotiated a wide variety of political, economic, and social relationships. Rather than looking at material of a strictly archaeological nature, such as grave goods or domestic assemblages, the subject of this paper will be an application of hybridity theory to Thasian visual arts. A series of relief sculptures found at Thasos shows that the artists who produced them were aware of – and open to – ideas and styles from across the Aegean and beyond, but they were not constrained to rote copying of those ideas. Hybridity therefore offers a powerful interpretative tool for understanding how Thasians adopted and adapted outside influences to suit their own needs, meanings, and society.

Hybridity and ancient art

The first problem that faces art historians and archaeologists working on Thasos is differentiating between local and foreign attributes in the material record. Artworks such as sculpture have often been seen, by virtue of their variability in style, shape, and decoration, as indicative of the identity of the people who created them.³ While

objects produced in antiquity were often very different from culture to culture, they were, however, created in a milieu of constant exchange – not only of goods, but also of ideas – and it is therefore difficult to connect ethnic identifications to artifacts. Several scholars have suggested that even the concept of ethnic identity may be a modern construct unrelated to the kinds of self- and other-identification practiced in antiquity.⁴ If ethnicity is to be used as a way to understand individual and group actions, the term needs to be defined in a way that makes sense when applied to the ancient world. Modern conceptions of ethnicity have defined it variously by making reference to genetics, social networks, cultural assemblages, kinship, language, or shared traditions, or sometimes in combinations of these factors.⁵

Jonathan Hall has made the most thorough recent examination of ethnicity in the Greek world, and his work forms a good starting point for a discussion of the subject.⁶ Hall focuses his analysis on what he referred to as “definitional *criteria* [his italics] or ‘core elements’... [which] are a putative subscription to a myth of common descent and kinship, an association with a specific territory and a sense of shared history.”⁷ Artifacts, for Hall, are part of “the operational set of distinguishing attributes that tend to be associated with membership in an ethnic group.”⁸ He called this set of attributes *indicia*. The set also includes “biological features, language, religion, or cultural traits.”⁹ The distinction Hall makes is one between the factors that actually define ethnicity (*criteria*) as opposed to those that are often, but not always, attached to groups but do not define them (*indicia*). It is more important for a common ethnic identity that a perception exists that kinship and a heritage are shared, and less so that they truly are shared.¹⁰ Therefore, this perception can be held from either inside or outside the group.

Hall’s definition is an attractive one from the point

of view of creating a theoretical basis for understanding ancient ethnicities. As critics have noted, however, it disregards the ways in which material evidence can be used to identify differences between groups – not only with regard to ethnicity, but for class, gender, or status as well.¹¹ Hall is correct to note that objects themselves do not define ethnicity, but objects are imbued by their makers with meanings connected to aspects of their group's cultural identity.¹² Eighth-century Greeks, for example, may not have defined their ethnicity, class, or status by the *ekphora* and *prothesis* scenes with which they decorated their painted pottery. They did give their pots a feature that refers to those aspects of Greek identity, however, by depicting part of their traditional funeral process. As Emberling has noted, "in the way material culture was used we may find evidence of the [social, political, and economic] boundaries in the ancient society."¹³

Art objects are components of material culture, which is itself just one part of culture generally, along with religion, language, literature, social networks, politics, and the like. Culture has been described as a system of symbols shared by a group (of which symbols artworks or their attributes might be examples).¹⁴ It has also been defined as a set of practices.¹⁵ As Richard Sewell has shown, however, culture is not one or the other of these things; rather, it is both simultaneously:

To engage in cultural practice means to utilize existing cultural symbols to accomplish some end. The employment of a symbol can be expected to accomplish a particular goal only because the symbols have more or less determinate meanings – meanings specified by their systematically structured relations to other symbols. Hence practice implies system. But it is equally true that the system has no existence apart from the succession of practices that instantiate, reproduce, or – most interestingly – transform it. Hence system implies practice... The most important theoretical question is thus not whether culture should be conceptualized as practice or as a system of symbols and meanings, but how to conceptualize the articulation of system and practice."¹⁶

Sewell's definition of culture shows it to be dynamic, not static, constantly changing as practices – aka actions – produce different meanings in new situations and as symbols – artifacts – are used in innovative ways.¹⁷

Material culture is similarly dynamic, as practices are changed by the use of new objects and tools, and as practices change objects in reaction to new needs. By combining Hall's definition of ethnicity – a shared sense of heritage and kinship – with Sewell's notion of culture, it is possible to understand how artifacts can give information about their producers' ethnicity without defining it. Objects have attributes that are imbued with the ethnicity of their creators, and they change over time, just as ethnic and cultural relationships do.

In areas where Greeks traded with non-Greeks, such as the hinterland of southern France, scholars have tried to understand interactions by using "world-systems" frameworks that explore the relationship between centers and peripheries.¹⁸ In these models, local leaders in

colonized zones ("chiefs" or "big men") mediated exchanges between centers of production, in the colonizers' homelands, and peripheral regions, thereby producing differential, status-based access to prestigious imported goods and foreign influences.¹⁹ There are many potential criticisms to be made of world-systems theory, including its emphasis on "macro-scale" economic exchange, rather than on individual transactions and distributions; the mechanistic quality of the process; and the fact that world-systems theory was designed explicitly with modern capitalism, rather than colonization generally, in mind.²⁰ Most problematic, however, is world-systems theory's definition of colonizing powers as the "core" and colonized zones as the "periphery." There were many cores and many peripheries – and a given population center could be either, or both, at any time. Further, the assumption that colonizers and their products were central to the exchange, while consumers in colonized zones were merely peripheral, fails to take into account the full range of power relationships found in economic exchange, whatever the period or location. There is no evidence that individuals in ancient colonial situations were forced to adopt foreign practices, nor that the process of that adoption was inevitable or teleological.

Other researchers, in particular Michael Dietler, have understood the use of imported objects within the theoretical context of "consumption," where cultural traits selected by local peoples may have had fundamentally different meanings in the new environment.²¹ This model is derived from economic studies of the consumption of commodities in anthropology.²² Perhaps the most important contribution of Dietler's work is to push the focus of analysis away from the meanings of artifacts to modern observers of colonial situations, and towards the meanings the artifacts had for their users in those situations.

The work of Marshall Sahlins on modern colonialism may have done the most to direct attention away from the perspective of colonizers, which has tended to dominate discourse, and towards that of the colonized. He has demonstrated how indigenous populations faced the same problem of incorporating the presence of colonial expeditions into their worldview as did colonists themselves when dealing with the people they encountered in new lands. Sahlins used the events surrounding the death of Captain Cook at the hands of Polynesian islanders in 1779 as an example.²³ Following multiple visits by Cook to Hawai'i, the islanders began to understand him as acting out the role of Lono, an agricultural deity who returned annually to grant blessings. As part of the Lono myth, the god had to be confronted by the Polynesian king "as cosmic adversaries."²⁴ During his time with the Polynesians, Cook thus "metamorphosed from a being of veneration to one with hostility," without ever having acted in a way that could understandably have aroused such hatred, from the British perspective.²⁵ The islanders' interpretation of Cook's behavior and actions, based on their religious and cultural worldview, however, made it

clear to them that it was necessary for Cook/Lono to be killed as a sacrifice. This is only a single example, though an illustrative one, of how local perspectives must be studied to the same extent as those of the colonizers, if we are to gain any understanding of the shape of events in colonial situations.

Archaeologists such as Yvonne Marshall and Alexandra Maas have adapted Sahlins' methodology, at least implicitly, from historical questions to evidence from material culture.²⁶ They examined the use of European ceramics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by the indigenous populations of North America, not for domestic purposes for which they were intended, but rather as objects of exchange in native contexts such as potlatches. The objects took on new meanings as they were incorporated into native life. Indeed, the objects became disconnected completely from whatever meanings they had in their original context. As with Sahlins' work, the activities described by Marshall and Maas are not themselves directly comparable to ancient Thasos. The range of possible interpretations for foreign influence in a colonial context is significantly broadened, however, by the recognition that foreign artifacts could be incorporated into local practices and beliefs with their meanings dramatically altered.

Peter van Dommelen developed the work of Dietler, Sahlins, Marshall, and Maas into a new theoretical understanding of situations in which different cultures mixed, adapting their approaches to the problems of the Greek and Roman world.²⁷ This new understanding not only takes advantage of work in colonial situations outside the Mediterranean, but also of methods derived from other branches of anthropology, including ethnographic analogy. Hybridity theory recognizes that in situations where two populations meet, the processes of contact and exchange fundamentally change both groups, regardless of differences in power.²⁸ Artifactual and behavioral traits from both the dominant and the subordinate cultures are selected, or even combined, and given localized meanings. By understanding a culture as hybridized, it is possible to trace the shifting currents of influence from various external sources, as well as to treat the culture as a local and internally consistent creation. Thasian history paints a picture of a society subject to a wide variety of influences, both political and economic. An examination of the reliefs paced on the city gates will allow consideration of the ways in which these influences were visible in Thasian art and how they changed over time. It will also allow the possibility of understanding what Thasian art was, and how it differed from other contemporary styles.

Historical context

Thasos' location and history are particularly relevant to an understanding of the forms and functions of its material culture. In antiquity, the island lay in one of the most heavily-trafficked areas of the northern Aegean. Rich in natural resources, Thasos is located just a few kilometers

off the Thracian coast, near the mouth of the Nestos River. In the Early Iron Age, the region seems to have been one in which members of many different groups moved while seeking commercial opportunities. In this period, the northern Aegean was a frontier zone for Greeks, just as it was for Phoenician traders. The dominant groups in the region, at least until the colonization of Thasos, were indigenous Thracian tribes inhabiting the mainland coast. Thasos traditionally took its name from a Phoenician trader, but it was colonized by settlers from Paros around the middle of the seventh century.²⁹ The town was located on the northeastern coast of the island, facing Thrace, and its inhabitants constantly tried to preserve their hold on the resources of the mainland.

Thasos became most famous for its wine, but there were also gold mines, marble quarries, and rich forests on both the island and the mainland to attract traders.³⁰ The relatively extensive literary record concerning Thasos in the archaic and classical periods gives us some idea of life in the region and the relationship of the island to the larger Mediterranean world. The earliest extant literary mention of Thasos comes from Arkhilokhos, who famously compared the island's shape to "the spine of a donkey, wreathed in unkempt forest."³¹ He described battling – though not always beating – Thracian tribes in the struggle for control of rich territory.³²

Herodotos was fascinated by the vast wealth of the area, and he visited Thasos in the middle of the fifth century. He noted that the amount of metal resources available for exploitation was so great that Thasian citizens were exempt from taxes.³³ The primary source of revenue was a network of mines on the mainland, such as the one at Skapte Hyle, the so-called "Excavated Forest" that produced 80 talents of gold a year by itself, and less productive ones on the island. The state's annual surplus reportedly totaled between 200 and 300 talents. Local mines were worked so intensively that Herodotos wrote, "A huge mountain has been turned upside down in the search for ores."³⁴

Thasos' wealth made it an inviting target for military domination, and, as a result, it was captured no fewer than four times during the fifth century alone. Herodotos gives us an account of the earliest recorded instance of a foreign power attempting to take the island, when Histiaios of Miletos attacked in 493. Histiaios was forced to leave his siege before taking Thasos, but the Persian Empire succeeded the following year where he had failed, capturing the island in an apparently uncontested attack.³⁵ Following the Greek victories of 480 and 479, Thasos seems to have become independent again and joined the Athens and the Delian League. It rebuilt its walls and contributed 30 talents to the League's treasury.³⁶ As in other places throughout the Aegean, the development of the League into an Athenian empire was not welcomed at Thasos. It tried to leave the alliance in 465, according to Thucydides, prompted by disagreements over the concessions for mines.³⁷ Kimon besieged Thasos for three years and, after capturing the city, imposed a huge

indemnity on the island to discourage other allies from trying to leave the League.³⁸ During the Peloponnesian War, Thasos appealed to Sparta for support when it left the League in 411, at which time it re-built its walls, but it was brought back into the fold by the Athenians in 407.³⁹ Sparta finally did assist the Thasians in 405, capturing the island and making it independent once more.

Perhaps the most important literary source for understanding the presence of foreigners at Thasos is Thucydides. He was personally and intimately connected to the region, and in some ways his story is paradigmatic of Athenian interest in the area during the sixth and fifth centuries. Close relationships between Athens and local tribes allowed his father, Oloros, a Thracian noble, to marry an Athenian woman and become an Athenian citizen, probably in the second quarter of the fifth century. They seem to have continued to own land in Thrace; Thucydides claims to have had special connections to the population of the area and to have owned concessions for working local gold-mines during the 420's.⁴⁰ While serving as general in 424, he harbored his detachment of ships at Thasos.⁴¹ Thucydides' failure to arrive from there in time to save the Athenian colony of Amphipolis from an attack by the Spartan general Brasidas was the cause of his twenty-year exile from Athens. One later source believed that Thucydides died in Thrace around 400.⁴²

Thucydides was not the only wealthy Athenian with substantial interests in the natural resources of Thrace during the sixth and fifth centuries. The tyrant Peisistratos had spent his exile in Thrace before returning for his final, successful attempt to become tyrant at Athens.⁴³ Eion, at the mouth of the Strymon River, was taken by Athens as a trading port in 476, and Amphipolis had been founded in 437 by an Athenian citizen, Hagnon.⁴⁴ In this context, Thucydides' family history does not seem at all unusual.

The picture that has been painted by the ancient literature thus far shows Thasos as a center for overseas trade, and for the mixing and mingling of members of many groups there. Thracians, followed by Phoenicians, Parians, Persians, Athenians, and undoubtedly others, too, must have been common visitors to the island and town. Although early relations between local tribes and colonizing settlers or traders may have been hostile, as evidenced by the poetry of Arkhilokhos, Thucydides' genealogy shows that, at least by the fifth century, elite members of the indigenous population dealt with outsiders on an equal footing. Despite the region's political instability, trade probably continued to thrive. Foreign merchants brought desirable goods with them to trade for the Thasian products they wanted. The purchase of imports by people in the northern Aegean created a mixed material culture, as seen, for example, in the archaeological discovery of Attic black gloss fine ware in the same households or tombs as local plain wares.⁴⁵ At the same time, Thasians probably did not stay at home either, instead traveling to other major centers to bring back still more goods – and ideas. This is particularly likely in the

case of artists, who may have traveled as part of their education in sculpting or painting in various styles.

Given the representation of so many different groups in the literary evidence and the intensity with which they seem to have pursued their interests in and around Thasos, it becomes increasingly likely that we should expect to see evidence of the presence of foreigners in the archaeological record. A series of reliefs placed on gates and passageways at Thasos, as large public displays meant for natives and visitors alike, provide a perfect opportunity to examine foreign influences on local art. The use of sculpture on gates, particularly in a programmatic way, is almost unknown in the Greek world, though it does appear in other parts of the Mediterranean. The sculptures from Thasos use local stylistic motifs while also borrowing from foreign traditions, including those of Anatolia, the Near East, Athens, and the Aegean islands. They show how artistic influences from outside the island were transformed by local taste and interests, and further how those mixtures themselves changed over time. Likewise, the themes these works express are determined by interests both local (e.g., local religious beliefs and patterns of commercial exchange) and universal (e.g., liminality and protection). The sculptures are thus a kind of hybrid art. They negotiate a space fraught with political issues of power and subjugation, doing so through the public display of locally important iconic images in a cosmopolitan setting. The thesis of this paper is that there is a connection between economic and political developments and the artistic influences found in Thasian gate reliefs. By examining these connections, it may be possible to create a model for the examination of art produced in other situations where people of different cultures met and mixed.

The gate reliefs

Greek and French scholars have conducted major investigations on the island since the middle of the nineteenth century, and there is a wide range of published archaeological data. Material evidence that can be adduced for understanding Thasian culture includes architecture, coins, amphorai (and their stamps), inscriptions, and the city's plan. The gates were an integral part of the city's fortifications, and there is some evidence for their construction phases (Fig. 14.1). Some, if not all, of the circuit was certainly standing before the end of the sixth century, as demonstrated by the construction style, including vertical drafting at wall turns, and the dates of the earliest reliefs.⁴⁶ Herodotos tells us that between Histiaios' invasion in 493 and that of the Persians in 492, Thasos invested its surplus wealth in strengthening its fortifications.⁴⁷ In 491, a rumor was circulated by Thasos' local rivals that the island was about to rise in revolt.⁴⁸ The Persians responded by forcing Thasos to tear down its walls. A.W. Lawrence hypothesized that this demolition was never completed.⁴⁹ In any case, the walls were probably re-built in the period between Thasos regaining

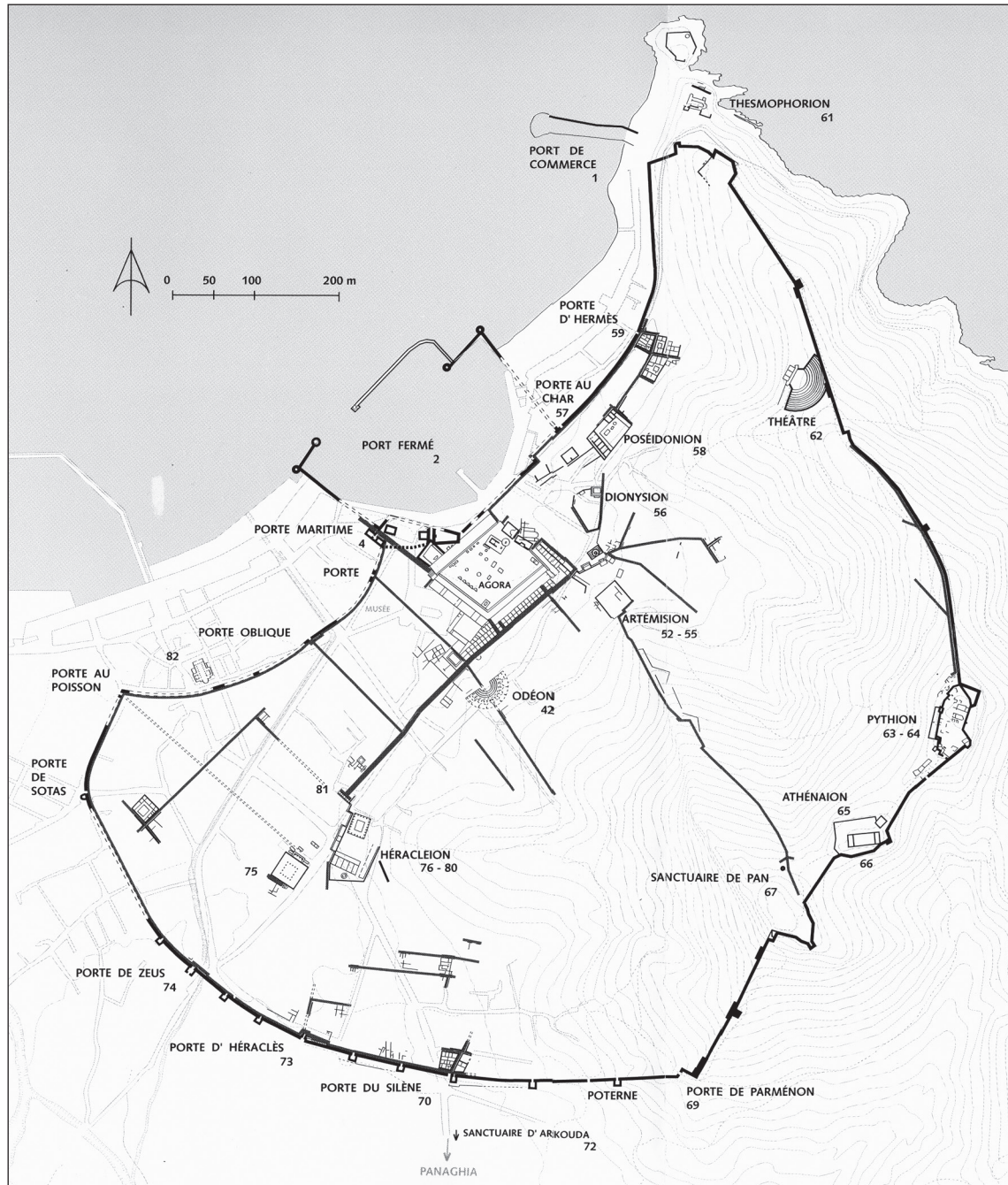


Fig. 14.1 General plan of Thasos city. Plan after Grandjean and Salviat 2000, fig. 12.

its independence in 479 and the difficult siege by Kimon in 465–463. Following the Athenian capture they were torn down again. Some sections, such as the stretch of irregular ashlar masonry found between the Gate of Parmenon and the Gate of the Silenos on the southeast of the city, were rebuilt in the fourth and third centuries.⁵⁰

Of the eleven known gates, at least seven were decorated with some kind of relief sculpture. These have been studied and published by Picard and Holtzmann.⁵¹ There is no extant literary reference to any of the reliefs on the gates. In some cases, as with a pair of eyes and a nose carved near the Gate of Parmenon, the sculpture does

not seem to be a planned part of the gate's design. More often, however, the images are integral to the gates they decorate. They depict divine and semi-divine creatures, but never characters that can be certainly identified as normal mortals.⁵² The figures appear alone or in groups, at varying scales. The dimensions of the images range from under a meter on a side, as with the relief on the Gate of the Goddess in the Chariot, to almost 2.5m tall, as with the enormous figure on the Gate of the Silenos. The subjects can occasionally be related to their location in the city, but are also likely to be linked to other considerations, such as religious interests.

The Gate of Herakles and Dionysos

The earliest known reliefs adorning a gate at Thasos are those of Herakles and Dionysos, located on the west side of the city.⁵³ An archaic inscription placed below the Herakles relief explains the choice of these two figures: “The children of Zeus and Semele and deep-robed Alkmene are guardians of the city.”⁵⁴ Their placement at this location is explained by the gate’s position on the road that goes directly to the city’s Sanctuary of Herakles, continues through the south side of the Agora, and ends at the Dionysion. Herakles, wearing his traditional lion-skin, kneels on the eastern side of the gate, facing out of the city and drawing a bow (Fig. 14.2). This relief, now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, is relatively small, measuring 71cm high by 100cm wide. Herakles’ body is compact, even compressed into the frame, with massive thighs. The mane of his lion-skin is defined by small, diamond-shaped tufts of fur. Herakles’ body is closely reminiscent of his depiction on the east pediment of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, dating *ca.* 525. The lion-skin is knotted at Herakles’ waist, covering a chiton that falls between his legs in S-shaped double curves. This drapery style does not appear before 510, giving a stylistic *terminus post quem* for the sculpture.⁵⁵

The Dionysos relief is now missing. It was lost sometime after its transfer to Istanbul, where it was

seen along with the Herakles relief in June 1884.⁵⁶ It is preserved today only in a drawing by a local doctor named Christidis at the time of its excavation in 1866 (Fig. 14.3). The slab, estimated by Holtzmann to measure around 70cm by 100–120cm, depicted Dionysos holding a branch and leading three maenads into Thasos in a komastic procession, the parade that formed a crucial part of Dionysiac ritual and symposia.⁵⁷ A viewer entering the city would be taking the same route as this divine *komos*, and would thus be implicated in its revels. The relief was on the west side of the gate, facing the Herakles. An inscription found with the relief, probably dating to the beginning of the fourth century, described regulations for the planting of land belonging to Herakles near the gate.⁵⁸ Based on the location of the inscription and certain “non-archaic” features in the drawing by Christidis, Holtzmann has hypothesized that the relief recovered in 1866 was not the original archaic one, which he believes had been placed beside the Herakles and removed between 491 and 463. Instead, he argues that the Dionysos relief drawn by Christidis was a Classical replacement, dating between 463 and the early fourth-century date supplied by the inscription.⁵⁹

What were the artistic sources for these depictions? The Thasian Herakles has an Ionian style, defined particularly by the size and definition of the musculature. This may



Fig. 14.2 Herakles relief from the east jamb of the Gate of Herakles and Dionysos, Thasos. Istanbul Archaeological Museum 718. Dated around 510–500. Photo after Grandjean and Salviat 2000, fig. 86.

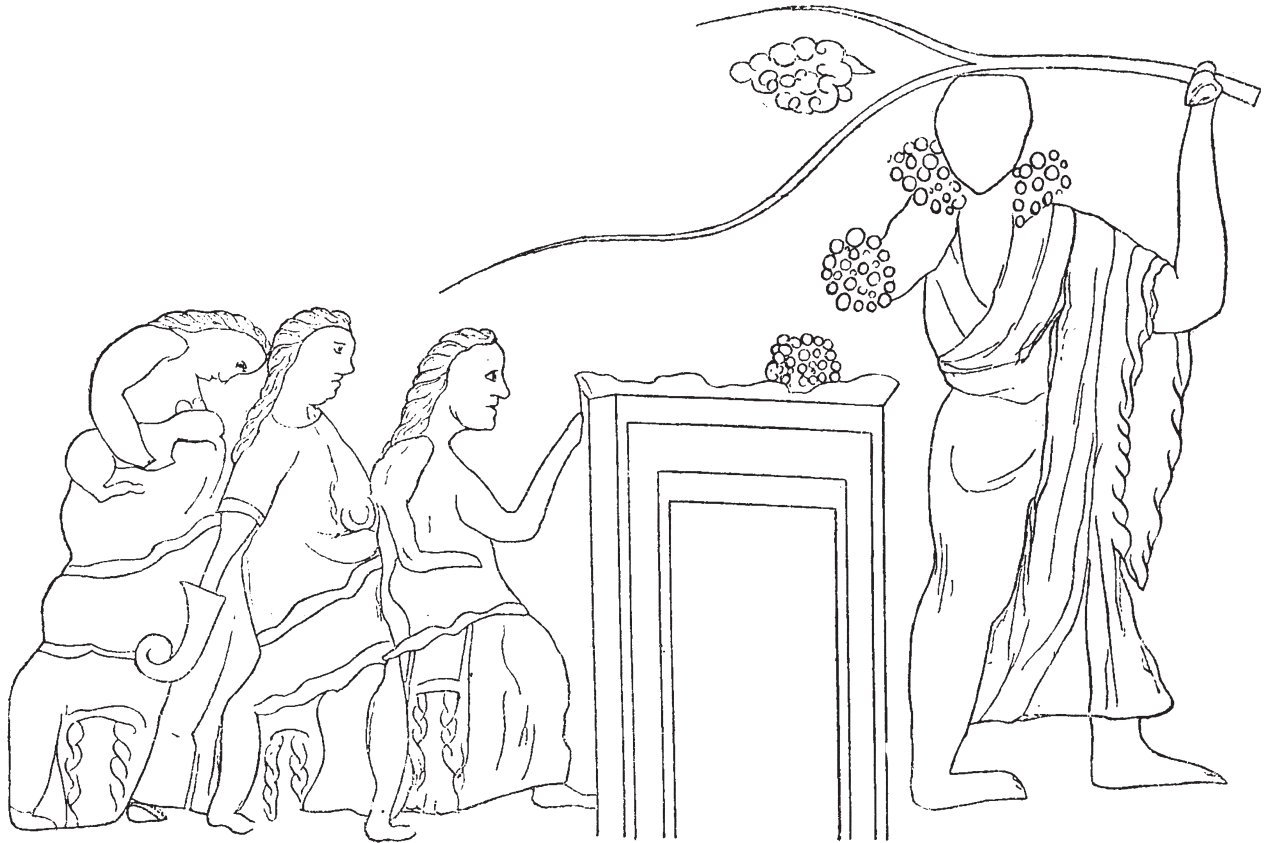


Fig. 14.3 Drawing by G. Christidis (1866) of Dionysos relief from the west jamb of the Gate of Herakles and Dionysos, Thasos. The relief, dated to the early fourth century, is now missing. Drawing after Holtzmann 1995, pl. 5.

be due to Thasian connections with its metropolis, Paros. As already noted, this Herakles also looks very similar to another Herakles found on the east pediment of the Siphnian Treasury, emphasizing his Ionian origins. His lionskin's mane is similar to the one seen on a lion attacking a bull on the east stairway of the Apadana at Persepolis (Fig. 14.4). The Near Eastern origin of this style is shown by comparison with Babylonian lion hunt reliefs from Nineveh dating to the seventh century. Herakles the archer became iconic for Thasians. Several series of coins minted starting in at least 411 show either a silenos with a maenad or Dionysos on the obverse and Herakles on the reverse, in the same pose found on the gate (Fig. 14.5).⁶⁰ The kantharos depicted at Herakles' feet further emphasizes the island's self-identification with its most widely distributed economic asset, wine. Garland has also analyzed a group of fourth-century amphora handle stamps depicting Herakles as an archer.⁶¹

With regard to the other relief, Carpenter has shown that archaic Dionysiac iconography was probably developed in the medium of vase-painting, primarily at Athens, over the course of the sixth century.⁶² Indeed, scenes including the god, such as *komois*, are not commonly found in sculpture relative to painting; the phenomenon of using pots for depictions of Dionysos is probably connected with their use for drinking wine. Holtzmann has specifically

compared the scene from Thasos of Dionysos holding up a branch to a scene on a neck-amphora by the Kleophrades Painter (Fig. 14.6).⁶³ In effect, it appears that Thasians adapted a scene known from one medium and used it for a new purpose: to identify themselves with the patron of their best-known industry.

The choice of these two deities as guardians of Thasos deserves mention in the context of contact between cultures. Herakles is a quintessentially hybrid character, bridging the realms of mortal and immortal. He was culturally hybridized as well. Herodotos told of a connection between Thasos and Phoenicia: "At Tyre I saw yet another temple of the so-called Thasian Herakles. Then I went to Thasos, too, where I found a temple of Herakles built by the Phoenicians, who made a settlement there when they voyaged in search of Europe; now they did so as much as five generations before the birth of Hercules the son of Amphitryon in Hellas."⁶⁴ A much later source, Pausanias, claimed that Thasians were actually descended from Phoenicians rather than Parians, and their worship of Herakles was thus connected to earlier worship of the hero at the Tyrian temple mentioned by Herodotos.⁶⁵ However, Herakles was also strongly connected with Thasos' metropolis, Paros. The two cities had the same magistracies, the same alphabet, and the same religious calendar.⁶⁶ According to Apollodoros,

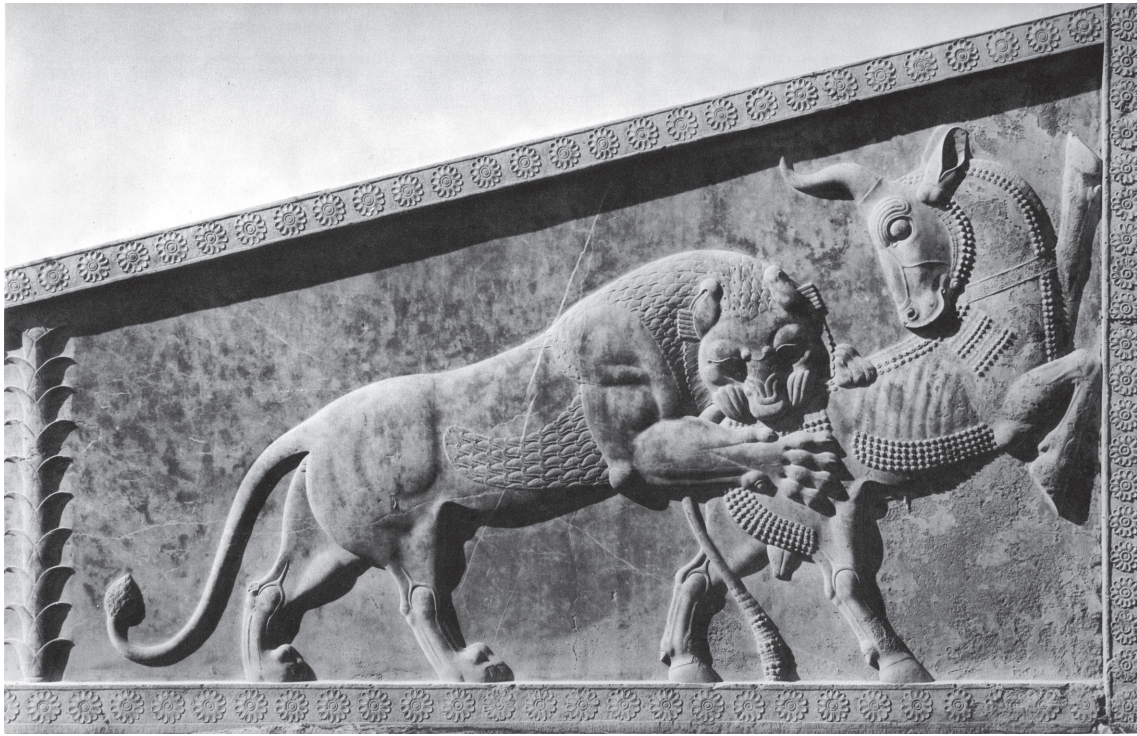


Fig. 14.4 Lion attacking a bull. South section of central façade, east stairway, Persepolis. Dated to the reign of Darius I (522–486). Photo after Schmidt 1953, pl. 20.



Fig. 14.5 Coins minted at Thasos depicting Dionysos, bearded, on the obverse, and Herakles as a kneeling archer with a kantharos, on the reverse. First series dated 411–390. Photo after Grandjean and Salviat 2000, fig. 271.

Herakles freed Paros from the rule of Minos and his sons. Thus it would be unsurprising to see his worship instituted on Thasos as well. Apollodoros even associated Herakles directly with Thasos, saying that, “having come to Thasos and subjugated the Thracians who dwelt in the island, [Herakles] gave it to the sons of Androgeus to dwell in.”⁶⁷ The important point, of course, is not whether

any of these sources are literally true, but that it may be more useful for understanding this sculpture to think of the character of Herakles at Thasos as mixed – part Greek, part Near Eastern. Thasians themselves may have thought of their hero as having dual natures, reflecting the hybridity evident in other aspects of their world.

The power and protection of Dionysos must have



Fig. 14.6 Detail of neck-amphora by the Kleophrades Painter, painted around 475. Munich Antikensammlung J408, 8732, and 2344 (ARV² 182.6). Photo after Sparkes 1996, fig. IV:2.

seemed particularly important to Thasians as the fame and economic value of their wine began to increase around the Mediterranean in the sixth century. The high quality of Thasos' wine showed the special favor bestowed on its people by Dionysos. He, too, was a god with hybrid aspects. He was the only Olympian whose mother was mortal – though he was actually born from Zeus' thigh. Perhaps yet more important for the interpretation presented here is the fact that, by the Classical period at least, Dionysos was thought by Greeks to have non-Greek origins – in Phrygia, or, even closer to Thasos, in Thrace.⁶⁸

The Gate of the Silenos

The gate immediately east of the Gate of Herakles and Dionysos is also decorated with a relief. The panel on the western post carries a relief at a slightly oblique angle to the wall, following the course of the road as it runs out of the city (Fig. 14.7). This feature makes the sculpture clearly visible to those approaching from outside. The single figure is impressive in its scale. Carved from a massive single block, and standing 2.42m high, it is apparently the tallest extant relief figure in the Greek world.⁶⁹ It is damaged in some parts, but a bearded figure in profile can clearly be seen walking into the city (Fig. 14.8). In addition to his human attributes, he has a horse's

tail and long, flowing hair similar to a mane. The figure is a Silenos, a half-human, half-animal follower of the god Dionysos, and one of the deity's most important emblems. He carries a stemmed kantharos high in his right hand, while his left hand remains free and slightly ahead of him. The Silenos wears a pair of calf-high boots with rolled tops and pointed toes; apart from this attribute he is nude. The heel of his back foot is lifted, and both of his legs are bent, giving a naturalistic sense of motion that helps to place this sculpture at the very end of the Archaic period. Stylistically, the Silenos has been seen as fitting the Ionian style, with massive muscles and a "picturesque taste for detail," but that style is not specifically Parian.⁷⁰ Holtzmann points to the northwest coast of Asia Minor, relating the Silenos to the Hermes found on the Siphnian Treasury.⁷¹ The Silenos' pubic hair, too, has similarities to a kouros on Samos (Inv. 77).⁷² Picard called the Silenos' boots "very Ionian and Anatolian; they are of such importance because [they give] the whole piece an impression of the 'exotic.'"⁷³

As a single over-life-size figure placed on the jamb of a portal, and depicted as entering an "interior" space – that is to say, the interior of the city – the Silenos composition is directly comparable to the reliefs found at Persepolis and elsewhere. Indeed, sculptures regularly appeared in Persian palace architecture, on window



Fig. 14.7 The Gate of the Silenos, Thasos, from south. Dated around 500. Photo: Author.



Fig. 14.8 Silenos relief, from the west jamb of the Gate of the Silenos. Photo: Author.

jamb, door jamb, and gateways. Sculptures of a king followed by two attendants on the jambs of the north and south entrances of the Council Hall at Persepolis, from the time of Darius I (reigned 522–486), are particularly good comparanda for the Thasos reliefs (Fig. 14.9).⁷⁴ The symbolic importance of the Silenos to Thasians is clear in the context of the island's fame and prominence in Aegean wine production and trade. When Silenoi are depicted in art – most commonly in vase-painting – they are often seen taking part in *komoi*. A single Silenos, as here, might have caused an ancient viewer to think of *komoi*, of Thasos' connection to Dionysos, and, just as with the previous gate, it would make the viewer a participant in a *komos* each time they entered the city here.

The Gate of Zeus and Hera

To the west of the Gate of Herakles and Dionysos stands the Gate of Zeus and Hera. On the left side of the gate, in the post, is a sculpture measuring 116 by 72cm.⁷⁵ The relief shows two draped female figures framed by a naiskos façade (Fig. 14.10). The larger female is seated, facing out of the city, with her feet supported by a low stool. The woman's left arm is down, beside her lap, holding a rod or scepter, while her right arm, badly worn, appears to be raised towards the curls of hair that fall on her chest. Her head is missing. The standing female figure's body faces to the viewer's left, away from the city, but her head

appears to be turned right, towards the seated woman. She is interrupted by the seated woman as she prepares to depart. The standing woman also seems to have wings, making her a divine messenger – Iris. The other woman has thus been identified as Hera. The naiskos pediment is surmounted by a central acroterion in the shape of a bird, perhaps an eagle, spreading its wings. On the other post of the gate was a sculpture, approximately the same size as the first, now partly preserved in four fragments (Fig. 14.11). The poor condition of the fragments does not allow much to be said about the sculpture, except that it also contains two male figures, one seated and facing out of the city, and the other with his head turned to face the first. The seated figure has a bare chest, although he is draped below. These figures, too, are framed by a naiskos façade with three acroteria, two of which are at least partially preserved. The central one is again a bird with spread wings. By analogy with the more complete work on the facing post, the two males have been identified as Zeus and Hermes.

Based on their general affinity with the architectural style of classical Attic grave stelai, these works have traditionally been seen as products of the late fifth century.⁷⁶ Holtzmann has looked more closely at the iconography of the reliefs, arriving at the conclusion that they are composite images, formed from iconographic details whose dates range from before 480 (Iris' sickle-



Fig. 14.9 King with attendants entering the Council Hall at Persepolis. West jamb of south entrance to Council Hall. Dated to the reign of Darius I (522–486). Photo after Schmidt 1953, pl. 75.



Fig. 14.10 Hera and Iris relief, from west jamb of the Gate of Zeus and Hera, Thasos. Dated around 325–315. Photo after Holtzmann 1994, pl. 18.

shaped wings) to the third quarter of the fourth century (the floral corner acroteria on the naiskos). He therefore places the sculpture before 315.⁷⁷ The sculptures’ “eclecticism,” as he calls it, is not particular to Thasos in this period – indeed, it is found in works carved in Athens (Holtzmann cites, for example, Athens NAM 1425 and NAM 54).⁷⁸ Here again, however, we see Thasian artists adopting a type of sculpture known from a context that was not only different, but foreign – the Attic grave stele, complete with the characteristic seated figures and naiskos framing device – and using it in a new way. The people depicted are not the deceased with a family member or servant, and the scene does not take place in the underworld or in a real domestic space. We are shown, rather, the supreme Greek deity and his wife, at home on Olympus with personifications of their command, their respective messengers. It is an expression of the protection of Zeus and Hera over Thasos, but in a format normally employed for grief and memorial.

Why did Thasians choose this way to invoke protective gods? There is no extant mythology to connect Zeus and Hera to Thasos. The choice of these gods here may have

more to do with their status as a couple – thereby allowing the creation and placement of two reliefs facing each other, just as stelai outside the gate did – in conjunction with a desire to mimic the grave markers nearby stylistically. It is possible, but perhaps less likely given his position of secondary importance on the relief with Zeus, that Hermes is presented here specifically because of his role as guide for dead souls to the underworld. A better reason for the design of this pair of reliefs is probably the proximity of one of the city’s main cemeteries, which lay on the road that entered the city at this point. That road, as with most roads approaching Greek cities, was lined on both sides with stelai memorializing the dead. An example of such a grave stele found at Thasos is that of Philis, now in the Louvre and dating 450–440 (Fig. 14.12).⁷⁹ The two reliefs on the gate would have continued the string of sculptures seen by travelers entering the city. The gate would have become an integral part of an unbroken whole. At the same time, depicting the gods in a mode normally associated with funerals created a thematic break that would prepare a newcomer for entrance into the urban space. The normal single meaning in classical Athenian sculpture

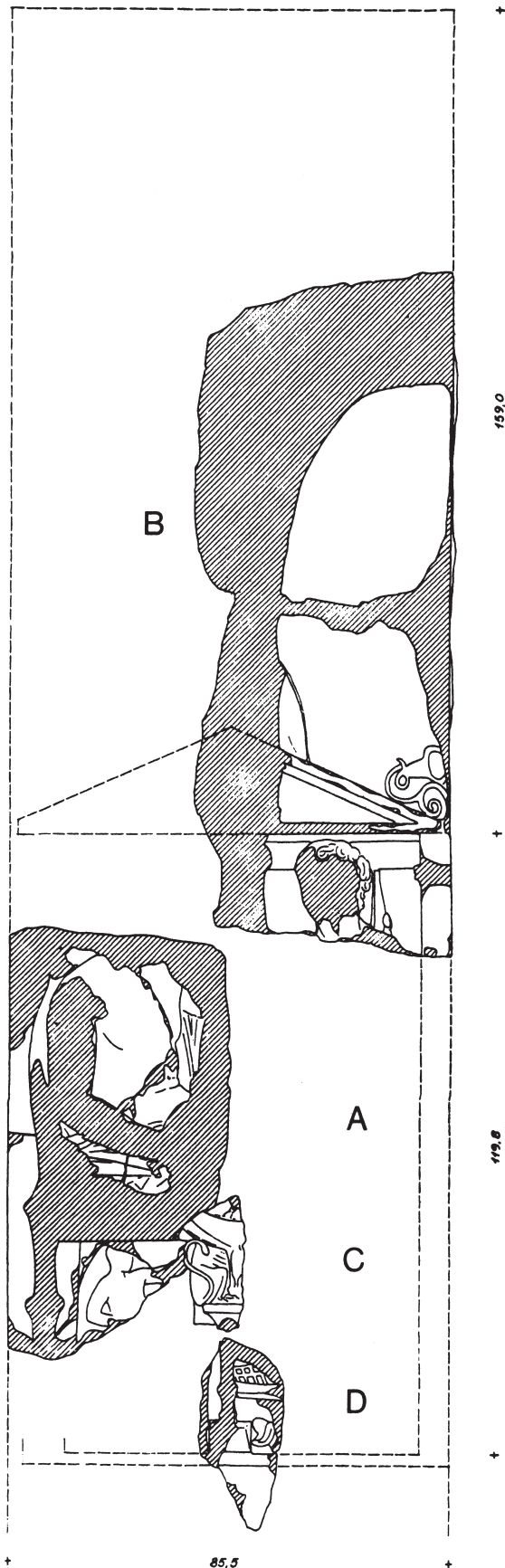


Fig. 14.11 Drawing of fragments from Zeus and Hermes relief, east jamb of the Gate of Zeus and Hera. Dated around 325–315. Drawing after Holtzmann 1994, pl. 19.



Fig. 14.12 Funerary stele of Philis, from Thasos. Louvre MA 766. Dated 450–440. Photo after Grandjean and Salviat 2000, fig. 100.

of two figures regarding each other, one seated, within an architectural enclosure, was enhanced, producing a fascinating dual significance.

Conclusion

This review of some reliefs located on gates at Thasos allows for some conclusions about the production of art in an arena of mingling between different groups. The sculptures were a hybrid of foreign motifs and local preoccupations with security. While Greeks did not normally decorate city entrances with sculpture, the idea had a long history in the Near East and Anatolia. Picard noted Hittite entrances at Karatepe as comparanda for the practice at Thasos.⁸⁰ It seems likelier, however, that the reliefs from Persepolis, already mentioned in connection with the Silenos sculpture, being much closer in date, and with Persia having recognized connections to Thasos in the sixth and fifth centuries, are the ancestors (directly or indirectly) of the Thasian works. In contrast with the subjects of the reliefs from Thasos, the subject is rarely divine in Persian gate sculpture. The usual depiction

shows the king or other royal human figures, or animals, or humans with animals. This distinction may point to a difference in the function of the Thasian reliefs. While in both contexts the sculptures were meant to advertise power and strength, the Persian reliefs are statements of the strength of the king. The Thasian sculptures make reference to divine protection rather than earthly power. As has been seen in the three examples described above, the protection of the gods is more than merely metaphorical in these compositions. The deities' real physical and spatial relationships with the city are emphasized: the gods enter Thasos, defend it, or send assistance to it in the form of messengers. The themes of the Thasian sculptures are also different from those in Persia. They are intimately connected not only to political issues, but also to economic ones, especially the wine trade. Thasos used its public art to emphasize its economic advantages, which could thus be seen as evidence of continued political importance and influence.

Thasians were clearly aware of artistic styles and formats created far from their home, including the Persian use of transitional spaces as loci for the placement of sculpture, the depiction of Dionysos in Athenian art, and the phenomenon of classical Attic grave stelai. This awareness must be attributed to their broad contacts with the Aegean and beyond. It also seems from the mixing of styles in individual works that political and military domination was not the only factor in artists' choice of motifs. The Herakles relief, for example, was produced during an independent period in Thasos' history, but in the shadow of the Persian empire, and it therefore draws on both Ionian and Near Eastern traditions. The economic fact of widespread trade – perhaps especially in the movement of local marble around the Aegean – is the likeliest explanation for the exposure of Thasian artists to the various styles and ideas seen on the island. Foreign traders came to the island to buy resources, undoubtedly bringing luxury goods, including art, with them. Thasians traveled abroad, too, selling their wares in foreign ports, gaining exposure to different cultures. The artists on Thasos responded to these influences by combining and transforming traditions to create a distinctive hybrid, yet local style, characterized by new notions of the ways in which art could be used to express power and strength. By understanding Thasian gate reliefs as hybrid works, it is possible to fully appreciate both the foreign influences and the local interests that led to their creation.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to James Sickinger for encouraging me to pursue new interpretative possibilities for the Thasian reliefs; to Richard Neer and Gabriella Lini for discussing approaches to the material before I began writing; to Kevin Cole and Elena Pakhoutova for their suggestions concerning the reliefs on the Gate of Zeus and Hera; and especially to Peter Schultz and Ralf von den Hoff for inviting me to contribute this paper to the conference.

Of course, none of these people are responsible for any errors made here.

Notes

- 1 E.g., van Dommelen 1997; Antonaccio 2003, 2004, and 2005; and Hodos 2006.
- 2 For emphasis on the “in-between-ness” of hybrid cultures, I thank Bernard Knapp (personal communication).
- 3 This perspective developed in the nineteenth century, when scholarship and nationalism became intertwined in the European academic world. Racial differences that were identified between different European nations became the starting point for analysis of archaeological remains as ethnically categorizable. Boas emphasized the uniqueness of cultures, and Montelius developed the first typologies of artifacts. The two approaches were combined by Kosinna in his use of German prehistoric archaeology to prove the superiority of the German nation. Finally, Childe adapted Kosinna's approach to culture and artifacts while discarding its racist underpinnings (Trigger 1989, 148–173).
- 4 Antonaccio 2004, 61; Emberling 1999, 126.
- 5 See note 4 *supra*. Kossina thought of German ethnicity as genetic. V.G. Childe associated ethnicity in the past with what he referred to as “archaeological cultures.” Childe's terminology explicitly equated groups of artifacts with groups of people (Emberling 1999, 126).
- 6 Hall 1997 and 2002.
- 7 Hall 2002, 9.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 Hall 1997, 19.
- 11 Emberling 1999, Antonaccio 2003.
- 12 The critical distinction to make in defining ethnicity from material culture is between the maker of an object and the user of that object. Because users may not employ an object for its intended purpose, their ethnicity cannot be derived from an analysis of that object. There is, however, some probability that the object reflects aspects of its creator's identity.
- 13 Emberling 1999, 127. It would be more accurate to replace the word “used” in Emberling's statement with “produced,” when it comes to analyzing the archaeological record. Antonaccio went further when she wrote, “Hall does not address the ways in which material culture shapes action or practice in a reflexive relationship (2003, 57).” See Sewell quoted below for a discussion of how objects and practices affect each other.
- 14 Sewell 1999, 47.
- 15 *Op. cit.*, 44.
- 16 Sewell 1997, 47, also quoted in Antonaccio 2003, 58.
- 17 Antonaccio (2003) has deployed Sewell's definition to understand the tension between a jointly-held culture identity of “Greekness” in the archaic and classical periods and the ways in which different poleis simultaneously constructed their own varied and local cultures.
- 18 See, for example, Brun 1987 and 1992, and Cunliffe 1988.
- 19 World-systems theory was developed by Wallerstein (1974).
- 20 For criticism of the world-systems approach, see Arafat and Morgan 1994 and Dietler 1997, 480–483.
- 21 Dietler 1997, 483–488. Dietler developed the theoretical framework of consumption for his dissertation on Greek

- imports in southern France (1990), and much of his other work relies upon it (1998, 1999, and forthcoming). He has used the different implications of drinking Coca-Cola in the United States, where it is a quotidian and relatively generic product, and drinking the same beverage in East Africa, where Coca-Cola has high status and is reserved for entertaining guests, as a modern analogy to demonstrate the theoretical underpinnings of the consumption approach. Consumption has also been used in other contexts such as historical archaeology (Cook *et al.* 1996). Other authors who work on the classical world have been less rigorously theoretical about their use of the term, preferring to see only an economic side to consumption (see, for example, many of the papers in Crielaard *et al.*, eds 1999).
- 22 Appadurai 1994.
 - 23 Sahlins 1985, esp. Chapters 3 and 4.
 - 24 *Op. cit.* 106.
 - 25 *Ibid.* Obeyesekere forcefully criticized Sahlins for his “assumption” that the Polynesian islanders were so naïve and irrational as to really believe Cook was the god (Obeyesekere 1992). Sahlins responded to these complaints by showing that Obeyesekere’s argument, which was meant to restore dignity to the islanders, in fact refused to try to contend with the islanders’ own interpretation of the events (Sahlins 1995).
 - 26 Marshall and Maas 1997.
 - 27 Antonaccio 2002, 2003, 2004, and forthcoming; Bhabha 1994.
 - 28 Van Dommelen 1997.
 - 29 For Thasos’ name, Paus. 5.25.12. For its foundation by Parians, Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 24–26.
 - 30 Aristophanes *Ekklesiazusai* 1112–1124, Hdt. 6.46.3.
 - 31 Archilochos fr. 22 (West 1993, 7).
 - 32 West 1993, fr. 5, 93.
 - 33 Hdt. 6.46–47.
 - 34 Hdt. 6.47.2 (translated in Rawlinson 1942).
 - 35 For Histiaeus’ abortive siege, Hdt. 6.28. For the Persian capture of the city, Hdt. 6.44.
 - 36 The payment of a 30 talent tribute to the League was instated in the 440’s, replacing an earlier levy of three talents. Originally Thasos provided 30 ships, but converted its responsibility to a cash payment between 478 and 454 (Meritt *et al.* 1953, 239–240). Meiggs argued that Thasos’ normal responsibility before the revolt of 465–463 was 30 talents, but that the amount was reduced to account for the new indemnity forced on the losers. In any case, as Meiggs notes, even at the higher tribute rate, Thasos was paying the same amount as Aegina (1972, 85–86, 573).
 - 37 Thuc. 1.100–101.
 - 38 Thuc. 1.101.5.
 - 39 For the rebuilding of Thasos’ walls, Thuc. 8.64. For the capture of the city in 407, Diod. Sic. 13.72.
 - 40 Thuc. 4.105.
 - 41 Thuc. 4.104.
 - 42 Marcellinus 19.
 - 43 Hdt. 1.64.
 - 44 For Eion, Hdt. 7.107, 7.113. For Amphipolis, Thuc. 4.102.
 - 45 Large quantities of Attic black gloss pottery found at local sites and dating to the fifth and fourth centuries are on display in the nearby archaeological museums of Thessaloniki, Abdera, Kavala, Komotini, and Samothrace.
 - 46 Lawrence 1979, 241.
 - 47 Hdt. 6.46.2.
 - 48 Hdt. 6.46.1.
 - 49 Lawrence 1979, 115.
 - 50 Grandjean and Salviat 2000.
 - 51 Their studies appear in *Études Thasiennes* (Picard 1962 and Holtzmann 1994).
 - 52 The maenads shown with Dionysos on the Gate of Herakles and Dionysos are not “normal” mortals. They are more than merely devotees – divinely inspired, and existing outside of normal temporal and spatial boundaries. The Passage of the *Theoroi*, east of the Agora, may form an exception to this rule, but that sculpture does not appear on one of the city gates.
 - 53 Picard 1959, 43–83 and Holtzmann 1994, 13–24.
 - 54 *IG* XII.8.356.
 - 55 Ridgeway 1993, 106.
 - 56 Holtzmann 1994, 14 n. 54.
 - 57 Holtzmann 1994, 23–24.
 - 58 *IG* XII.8.265.
 - 59 Holtzmann’s reconstruction is a complicated one for a sculpture whose composition and context are not well understood, and it demonstrates the difficulty of working on artworks known only from second-hand sources.
 - 60 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 306–7.
 - 61 A.-M. Bon and A. Bon did the earliest work on the stamps (1957, Nos 349–363). Garland (1999) dates the stamps to 380–340.
 - 62 Carpenter 1986.
 - 63 Munich J408, 8732, and 2344 (Holtzmann 1994, 24). He notes that Dionysos holding a branch, especially up high, at the level of his head, is a rare motif at the end of the archaic period.
 - 64 Hdt. 2.44.3–4 (translated in Rawlinson 1942).
 - 65 Paus. 5.25.12.
 - 66 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 24, 230, 302.
 - 67 Apollodoros 2.5.9.
 - 68 Linear B tablets containing Dionysos’ name confirm that he was worshipped in Greece during the Mycenaean period, but his classical mythology – especially as seen in Euripides’ *Bakhai* – was more complicated.
 - 69 Picard 1962, 86, Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 121.
 - 70 Holtzmann 1994, 27–28.
 - 71 The stylistic affinity of the Silenos to the Siphnian Hermes has been questioned by Barringer (1998, 205).
 - 72 Holtzmann 1994, 28.
 - 73 Picard 1962, 95.
 - 74 Schmidt 1953, 116.
 - 75 Holtzmann 1994, 68.
 - 76 Boardman 1985, 182.
 - 77 Holtzmann 1994, 76–77. Around the same time, the entire gate seems to have been revamped and given a monumental entrance with a projecting tower. The connection between the gate renovations and the placement of the sculptures is difficult to prove (at least in part because the new tower would have blocked much of the natural light necessary for viewing the sculptures), but assigning the sculptures a date in the fourth century is less problematic.
 - 78 Holtzmann 1994, 78.
 - 79 Louvre MA 766. Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 149–51, Ghali-Kahil 1954.
 - 80 Picard 1962, 44.

The Reception of Architectural Sculpture in Two-Dimensional Art

Martin Bentz

Greek architectural sculpture is reflected in different kinds and techniques of two-dimensional art: in painting – wall-painting or vase-painting – or, more rarely, in engravings in metal or stone. But why? In the first part of this paper, a general survey of the heterogeneous material and its different functions is given. In the second part a single and singular monument will be analysed.¹

I

Instead of choosing a typology based on materials or chronology I propose a typology based on the ‘views’ of the artisans or, in other words, the different ‘functions’ of the representations of architectural sculpture.

1. Architectural sculpture can be imitated and substituted by paintings on real architecture, on both the outside or the inside of a building

Architecture and architectural sculpture was usually painted; in recent years there has been an increasing interest in this phenomenon.² In the Archaic period, painted terracotta plaques as predecessors of architectural sculptures were used to decorate wooden architecture.³ Later unsculpted metopes or friezes could be painted with a more or less relief-like plastic effect. Most often this decoration takes the form of *phialai*, rosettes or other decorative elements, more rarely we find figural scenes which imitate reliefs. The best preserved example is the doric frieze of the Great Tomb of Lefkadia in Macedonia of the late fourth century B.C.⁴ Where the Ionic frieze running above the Doric frieze and the pediment was decorated with stucco-reliefs, the metopes show a Centauromachy in an illusionistic painting technique. Between the blue triglyphs, the background of the metopes is white upon which brown-yellowish figures have been rendered with extensive shading in order to promote a three-dimensional

effect. The single scenes are inspired by the south metopes of the Parthenon but are not exact copies.⁵ In this case, the intention to imitate sculpted decoration seems evident.

A good comparison between a sculpted frieze and a painted frieze from an interior context has recently been made by W. Höpfner. In the tomb chamber of the Maussoleion of Halikarnassos there is a relief frieze with a chariot race which may have inspired the painted frieze with the same subject in the ‘Prince’s Tomb’ at Vergina, executed about a generation later (Fig. 15.1).⁶ The tradition of interior friezes painted in the illusionistic manner continues through the Hellenistic age. In the houses of Delos there are several examples of late Hellenistic date that evidently imitate architectural sculpture.⁷ These painted elements occur mainly – but not exclusively – in interiors of tombs and houses, that means in a more private context. In some cases the aspect of saving money may have been important but this can not be generalised.

However not all painted friezes imitate relief decoration. For example, the large hunting frieze on the facade of the ‘Philipp’s Tomb’ in Vergina with its particular composition and painting technique very clearly falls into the field of painting and not imitation of sculpture.⁸ It seems that painted friezes emancipate themselves from their sculpted examples and a new tradition of purely painted friezes with an aesthetic value of their own begins by the end of the fourth century.

2. When a whole building is depicted in painting the architectural sculpture usually has a subordinate or attributive function to characterize the building

Whereas architectural elements have an important role and meaning in narrative painted contexts – mostly in vase-painting – architectural sculpture appears less frequently. In vase painting, we often find single architectural

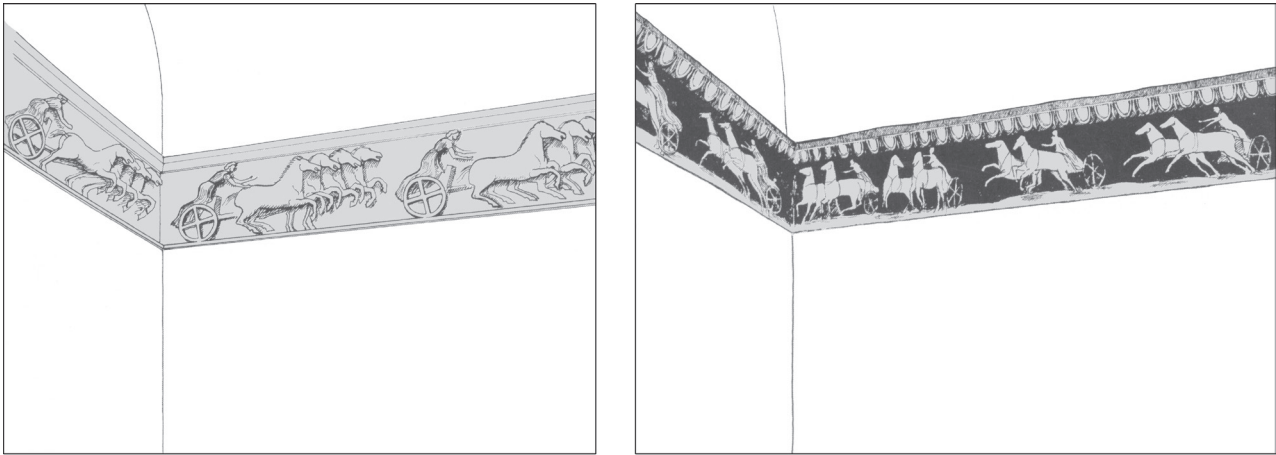


Fig. 15.1. Sculpted frieze from the tomb chamber of the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos and painted frieze from the Prince's tomb in Vergina. Drawings after Höpfner 2002, 423.

elements like one or two columns or pillars to characterize a place as a sanctuary, a gymnasium or an house interior. At the same time, we also regularly see whole buildings like fountain houses, temples, palaces, grave-temples or theatre buildings depicted in a more or less detailed way.⁹ Architectural sculpture is represented only rarely. Indeed, when a whole building is shown, sculpture usually is neglected: pediments, friezes and akroteria are often characterized by purely floral ornaments and these elements have a subordinate and purely decorative function serving to stress only the general richness of a monument.¹⁰

Only in rare cases – when architectural sculpture is given more in detail – may it have a special meaning. The most common elements to be indicated of fountain houses are the different types of spouts – mostly in form of animal heads – but also pediment-reliefs and akroteria. It has been supposed that their rich decoration in the late 6th century celebrates the new water supply system established in that time in Athens.¹¹ Frequently theatre-buildings are depicted. One of the most detailed examples is a fragment in Würzburg (Fig. 15.2) showing a 'palace' with ionic columns, an undecorated doric frieze, a cassette-ceiling with stars, antefixes in form of heads, a pediment with a palmette and rosettes and akroteria with warriors at the corners and Bellerophon and the winged Pegasos in the centre. This myth may be related to the play represented on the vase.¹² On a Lucanian nestoris showing a temple-like naiskos with a figure of Athena inside, two sphinxes are clearly indicated as akroteria.¹³ Sphinxes have a funerary connotation which should not surprise on a south Italian vase. The naiskos is surrounded by 'gift-bearers' as they appear regularly around the grave monuments. On a Sicilian lebes, the facade of a naiskos is crowned by figures of Nike as akroteria.¹⁴ It is difficult to decide if the building is a grave-naiskos (with the deceased woman shown inside) or the palace in the underworld (with Persephone); either way the presence

of Nike points to some special import.

In several cases, we can guess – with help of context – which particular building is meant by a particular the painting.¹⁵ On a temple-like building on an apulian volute-krater by the Dareios Painter even the name 'eleusis to ieron' is written¹⁶ but the architecture in vase painting is always very standardized and we never have 'realistic' depictions of the monuments. If a painter wanted to characterize a temple more precisely, he painted the cult statue of the respective god or goddess in it¹⁷ – the architectural sculpture was probably not significant. One exceptional piece, however, is the fragment of a krater in Würzburg with the Greeks leaving the wooden horse in front of the temple of Athena at Troy. The identification of the temple is given by the context and the pedimental sculpture: it shows Athena Promachos in the centre of a battle scene.¹⁸

Rarely can one single element of architectural sculpture be isolated and shown alone as are architectural elements like columns, capitals, doors, windows etc. As an abbreviation of a whole building sometimes a pediment is shown.¹⁹ One example where a figural pedimental scene is indicated comes from an Apulian fragment in Tübingen with a scene of two animals attacking a third one from both sides, a typical funerary motif in Apulian art which might help to interpret the abbreviated building as a grave-naiskos.²⁰

3. Single motifs or compositions of architectural sculpture can be copied without any architectural context

The themes of the great mythic fights like the Centauro-machy and the Amazomomachy seem to be the dominant examples of represented architectural sculpture. Often discussed are representations which derive from the Parthenon frieze, metopes or pediments.²¹ Many vase paintings seem to be influenced by the frieze from Bassai or other examples not preserved today.²² If these scenes are intended to be copies and were recognised as such

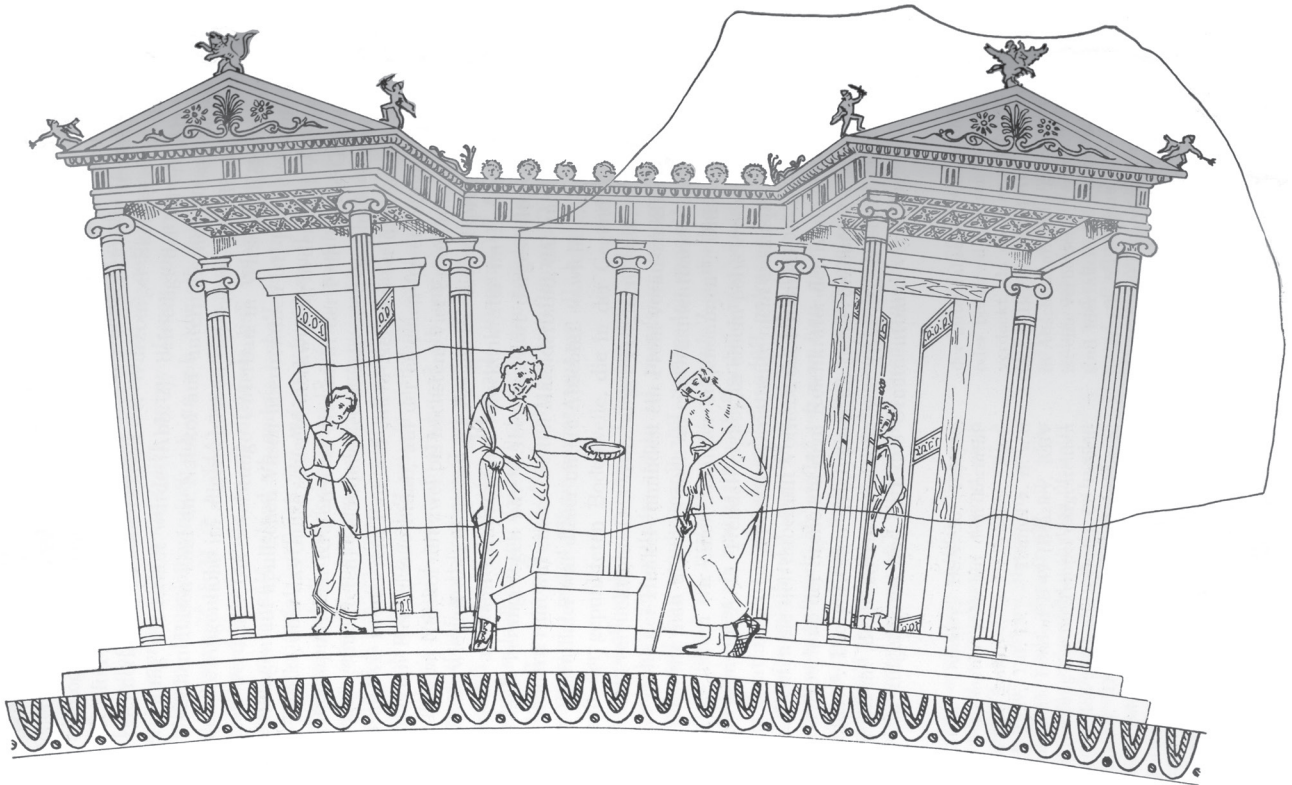


Fig. 15.2. The 'skenographia' of Würzburg. Fragment of Apulian vase, 350–300 B.C. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum. Drawing after Simon and Otto 1973, 125.

is difficult to say. The same applies to moving figures which may often be inspired by akroteria – but if we do not have the original sculpture it is difficult to determine if the painted figures really are “copies.” Several figures on columns on Panathenaic amphorae – official prize vases ordered by the Athenian state – seem to derive from akroteria (Fig. 15.3) and were probably recognised as such by viewers since we have also copies of known statues on these vases representing important local cults or monuments.²³ In this case, a public and representative function can be supposed.

This short survey shows three very different meanings, or rather *functions*, of the pictorial representation of architectural sculpture: substitutive/imitative; attributive/descriptive; and finally, iconographic.

II

In 1881, a wall in the town of Chios was destroyed during an earthquake. This led to the discovery of a grave-pillar of dark blue marble which had been reused as building material (Figs 15.7–11). One of the four sides had been totally reworked so that the original decoration is nearly entirely lost (Fig. 15.7). Three square dowel holes, a pry hole and a clamp hole give evidence of the secondary use. The edges are nearly complete while the surface is partially damaged. 1888 the pillar was sold to the Berlin Museum where it has recently been restored

for the new exposition in 1998.²⁴ More important for us, all four sides of the pillar was originally decorated with an engraved decoration (Figs 15.4–6; 8–10).²⁵ The dark surface of the pillar is smoothed and polished, the figural and floral decoration engraved while the ground of the friezes and the main front panel are rougher and therefore brighter.²⁶

Each side of the pillar has a large central panel bound vertically by tendrils. Three continuous figural friezes run around the whole pillar, one frieze underneath with two frieze above the panel. On the top of the stone there is a tendril frieze of wine or ivy leaves. In the upper part of the front panel the name of the deceased, Metrodoros son of Theogeiton, is written. The back panel is decorated with a scene in the gymnasium. On the left, a column with a himation, in the middle athletic utensils – sponge, oil flask, strigil and a net hanging on a nail – and on the right a column with an amphora of panathenaic shape on top of it. The panel on the right side shows an archer wearing a mantle around his upper body; he aims the bow with his left arm and holds the arrow in his right. Behind him is his *pais* holding two arrows, a tree and a column with another amphora. The rest of the decoration of the left side is in poor condition – an arm of a siren and parts of a kentauros – but enough remains to allow us state that friezes continued on this side, too.

The lower frieze shows a two-horse chariot race with winged Nikes. The race starts on the back to the left of a



Fig. 15.3. Reconstruction of the Nikes of Panathenaic prize amphoras as Akroteria. Drawing after Eschbach 1986, 54.

tree, runs along the sides and finally finishes the race at a column in the centre of the stone's front. The symmetrical composition is repeated in the upper frieze. The tendrils start in both directions on the back and meet in the middle of the front side. The upper figural frieze depicts four sirens on each side playing music with tympana, krotalai, auloi, a harp (trigonon) and a kithara or lyre while two sirens perform a dance. The frieze below shows the Centauromachy composed mainly of fighting groups consisting of one Centaur and one Lapith. The front side of the stone shows a symmetrical composition again. The centre is dominated by only female figure, a fleeing Lapith indicating the cause of the fight (the rape of the women during the wedding of Peirithoos) while two single fighters – one of them a warrior – frame the composition. Trees place the fight in a country landscape.

The date of the pillar is not problematic, it belongs to early Hellenistic period in the first half of the third century, *ca.* 300–250 B.C. The type of the pillar²⁷ and the form of the letters already point in this direction. The lateral tendrils have parallels in late Apulian vase painting, pebble mosaics, toreutic objects and wall painting.²⁸ Comparanda for the figural scenes, given below, confirm the date.

The frieze with the chariot race in the tradition of the 'Rich Style' (Figs 15.8–9) finds good parallels in late Classical and early Hellenistic time in different contexts: on jewellery and coins,²⁹ ceramics,³⁰ and tomb-painting³¹ – all seem to depend on relief sculpture like

the Maussoleion of Halikarnassos and the frieze of the 'Ptolemaion' of Limyra.³² These representations may be interpreted in a secular way as symbols for games and victorious races but, as most of them come from sepulchral contexts, they are more likely understood a general reference to the virtue of the deceased.³³ In the fifth century, Nike accompanies or crowns charioteers, from early Hellenistic times onward she can stand in for him. It is possible that a famous painting by Euthychides, mentioned by Pliny, had a strong influence on this iconographic change.³⁴

The frieze with the Sirens (Fig. 15.10) has parallels in the fourth and third centuries as well.³⁵ The type of the siren with a bird's body is unusual in this time is; after the Archaic period they are usually dressed.³⁶ Sirens playing music appear in Apulian vase painting of the second half of the fourth century and on Attic grave stelai. In eastern Greece, we find them on grave stelai; the sarcophagus from the mausoleum of Belevi from the first half of the third century offers another example. The dance performed by two sirens from the frieze (*oklasma*) is of Persian origin.³⁷ The interpretation of the frieze seems evident: sirens are, like the moirai, messengers of fate and mourn the dead.³⁸ On eastern Greek grave-monuments they are sometime interpreted as elements of heroisation of the dead.³⁹

The Centauromachy looks back to Classical cycles of architectural sculpture like the Bassai frieze but simplifies them by choosing a symmetrical composition on the front

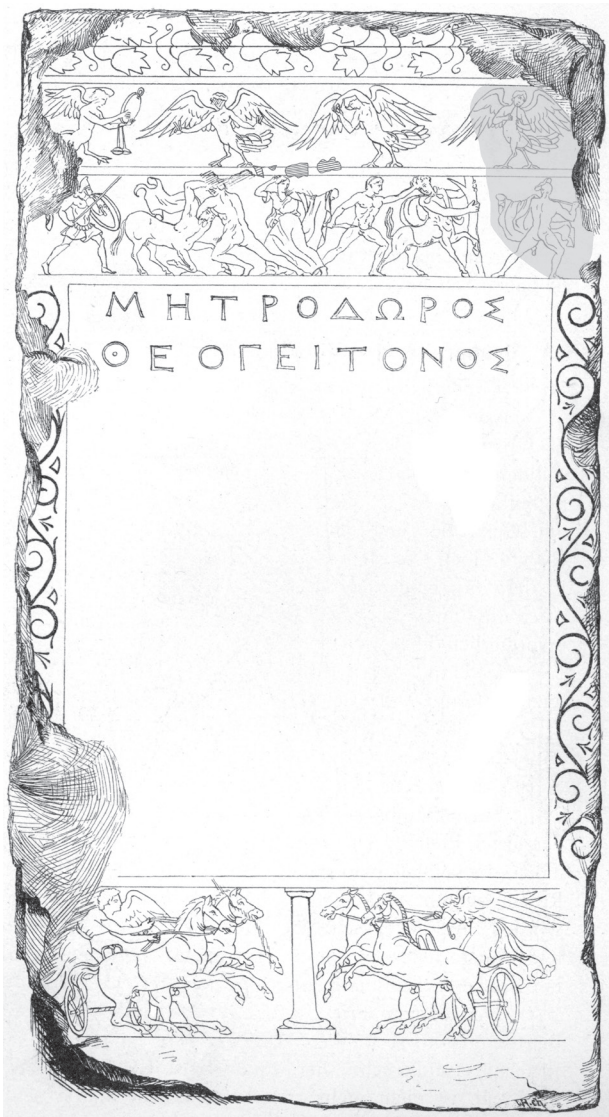


Fig. 15.4. Metrodoros Stele, front side. 300–250 B.C. Marble. Drawing after Conze 1891 with modifications by the author.

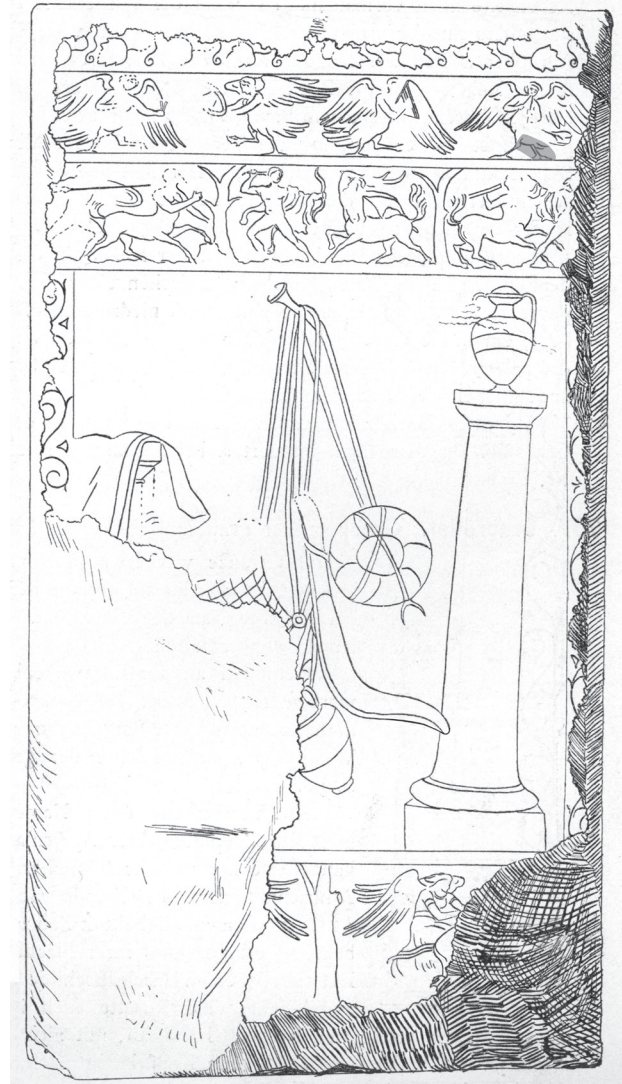


Fig. 15.5. Metrodoros Stele, back side. 300–250 B.C. Marble. Drawing after Conze 1891 with modifications by the author.

and by extending the fighting groups to avoid overlapping (Figs 15.10–11).⁴⁰ Similar fighting groups are found in the frieze of the Heroon of Trysa, the metopes of the Great Tomb of Lefkadia, the ‘Ptolemaion’ of Limyra and the ceiling coffers of the Maussoleion of Belevi; they can also be found in vase painting.⁴¹ In the Belevi reliefs, like the Metrodoros frieze, we have new warriors helping the Lapiths that were not part of the original compositions. The standard interpretation of the Centauromachy in funerary contexts as the mythical elevation of the deceased *aretē* was surely intended here.

The main panels on the back and on the right side of the pillar show scenes in the gymnasium. Indeed, the back side of the pillar is a kind of “still life” with the typical utensils of an athlete and the prize amphora displayed on a column.⁴² The scene on the right panel is situated in an open air part of the gymnasium characterised by the tree, a frequent compositional element on Hellenistic eastern

gravestones, where it may also indicate a hero’s grave. In this case, however, the motif is to be interpreted more realistically.⁴³ The archer (*toxótes*), who should probably be identified as the deceased, is characterized by his *pais* as a member of the upper class. A hunting or battle scene can be excluded by the context, he should probably be identified as an athlete. Archery, however, was not one of the canonic disciplines of ancient athletics; it is therefore rarely shown in ancient art.⁴⁴ Epigraphic evidence for the “sport” comes exclusively from Asia Minor from the fourth through first centuries B.C. From this we know that there were long distance and, more frequently, target competitions. On some Hellenistic gravestones of Asia Minor youths hold quiver and bow but never use them.⁴⁵ This may allude to ephebic training and is often interpreted as a symbol for the defensive readiness of the citizens or, perhaps, for heroization.⁴⁶ The prize-amphora seen here on a column, originally a prize for athletic competitions,

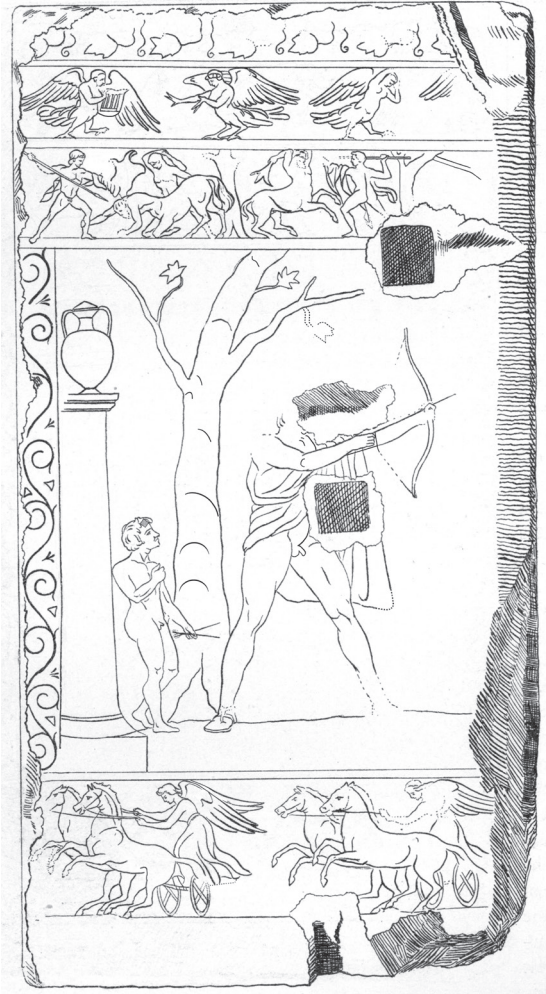


Fig. 15.6. Metrodoros Stele, right side. 300–250 B.C. Marble. Drawing after Conze 1891 with modifications by the author.



Fig. 15.7. Metrodoros Stele, left side. 300–250 B.C. Marble. Photo: J. Laurentius.

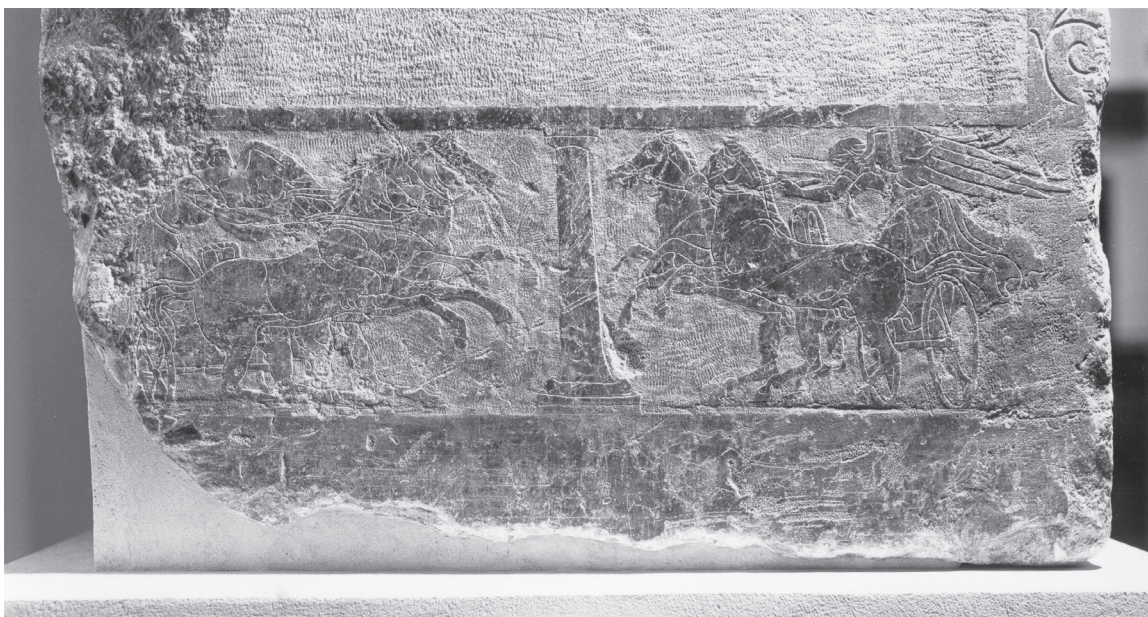


Fig. 15.8. Metrodoros Stele, lower part of front side. 300–250 B.C. Marble. Photo: J. Laurentius.



Fig. 15.9. Metrodoros Stele, detail of the chariot-race frieze. 300–250 B.C. Marble. Photo: J. Laurentius.



Fig. 15.10. Metrodoros Stele, upper part of front side. 300–250 B.C. Marble. Photo: J. Laurentius.



Fig. 15.11. Metrodoros Stele, detail of the kentauromachia frieze. 300–250 B.C. Marble. Photo: J. Laurentius.

may just characterize the place as a gymnasium; but since it appears frequently on Hellenistic gravestones it also seems to have a more general meaning alluding to manly virtue.⁴⁷

Upon consideration of the specific decorative elements, the Metrodoros pillar seems well embedded in Early hellenistic funerary art. However, if we look to the monument as a whole it is very unusual and quite singular. To begin, it is the biggest known Ionian grave-pillar and is decorated on all sides using a rare decoration technique. While the scenes of the gymnasium, a place of civic identity was quite frequent on grave-stelai (and served to characterize the deceased as a good citizen) the unusual archery scene gives the whole monument an individual touch. Also very unusual for grave-stelai is the combination of mythological themes with three of them stressing *aretē* and one (the sirens) referring more explicitly to death. These mythological themes, in terms of both iconography and style, are taken from aristocratic maussoleia or chamber tombs and reflect the rich architectural sculpture found there.⁴⁸ The decorative program of the Maussoleion of Belevi, with its sirens and Centauromachy combined with athletic scenes,⁴⁹ the 'Ptolemaion' of Limyra and the Maussoleion of Halikarnassos, which both combine the chariot-race and

Centauromachy, could all be seen as possible models.

Indeed, not only are the themes taken from these elite examples but also, formally, the pillar seems to be a maussoleion *en miniature*. The friezes go round the pillar monument like a freestanding architecture – not restricted to one side as on grave-stelai – and the composition with two friezes one upon the other already appears on the great heroa like the Nereid Monument from Xanthos, the Maussoleion of Halikarnassos and the Heroon of Trysa.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, we do not know if there was anything on top of the pillar to stress this impression since the upper surface has been reworked.

Metrodoros or his family chose a singular and very ambitious monument that, by its size, seems to be a grave-stele but, by its programme, a maussoleion. The quotation of architectural sculpture is here specifically used in order to elevate the monument and, by extension, the deceased.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Wolf Dieter Heilmeyer and Andreas Scholl who kindly allowed me to study the Metrodoros pillar in the Antikensammlung Berlin and to publish the new photos.

Notes

- 1 Representations of architectural sculpture in smaller format – like engravings on gems, cameos or coins etc. – will not be considered in this preliminary study; I will also limit this study to Greek art up until the Hellenistic age. At this time, I cannot present a complete treatment of the argument or a catalogue of representations but rather would like to propose some ideas for discussion. On Greek coins Fuchs 1969, 1–4; Price-Trell 1977.
- 2 Tiverios and Tsiafakis 2002; Brinkmann 2003a; Brinkmann 2003b.
- 3 Gruben 1980, 35 (Thermos, 7th century); the 6th century pinakes painted by Exekias were probably used in architectural context too, Mommsen 1997, 8–10.
- 4 Petsas 1966.
- 5 Bruno 1981; Lehmann 1979; Drougou 1997, 689 no. 209.
- 6 Höpfner 2002, 423; the painted frieze however shows two-horse chariots instead of the four-horse chariots in the Mausoleion frieze, but compare a sculpted frieze with two-horse chariots in the museum of Veroia in Macedonia; for the painted frieze more in detail Andronikos 1984, 202–206. Compare also the Early hellenistic painted chariot race in the tomb of Ksanlak, Vassiliev 1959. For a painted frieze from Egypt see tomb no. 1 of the Mustafa Pacha necropolis in Alexandria, Adriani 1933–35 pl. 27 and with a chariot race painted on a funeral *kline* from tomb no. 2, *ibidem* pl. 15 and colour pl. D.
- 7 Bruno 1985, esp. 7.
- 8 Andronikos 1984, 97–119.
- 9 There is no complete up-to-date study on architecture in Greek vase-painting: see Oliver-Smith 1984; Adamopoulos 1986 (non vidi); for the function of single architectural elements in narrative context on attic vases see the good survey of Meyer 1988; better is the situation for south Italian vases: Brandes-Druba 1994. Architectural sculpture is not in the focus of all these studies.
- 10 See for example the temple with a statue of Apollon inside on a fragment in Amsterdam, Brijder and Juriaans-Helle 2002, 143 fig. 130. On south Italian vases the decorations of the frequent naiskoi seem to derive mostly from vase ornaments and less from real architecture, see the plates of Lohmann 1979 *passim*; in pediments we find Gorgoneia, rosettes, paterae, on friezes different floral ornaments and wave-patterns.
- 11 Orlandos 1916; Dunkley 1935/36; Ginouvès 1962; Brandes-Druba 1994, 6–32; recently Steiner 2004, 455–60.
- 12 Simon-Otto 1973 with detailed discussion of the question if the vase painting reflects real architecture or a painting. See also Schultz 2001, 21 with bibliography. The material of theatre representations is collected in the numerous works of T.B.L. Webster.
- 13 Once art market, Trendall 1967, 122 no. 633 pl. 61, 6.
- 14 Arias 1941 IV E pl. 12; Trendall 1967, 589 no. 27 pl. 228.
- 15 For example in scenes of myth which take place in a particular sanctuary.
- 16 RVAp Suppl. I (1983) 18/41a pl. 12, 1; Schmidt 1986, pl. 32, 1.
- 17 Oenbrink 1997; De Cesare 1997.
- 18 Hölscher – Simon 1976, 133–4. 142 pl. 47, 1 with references.
- 19 Brandes-Druba 1994, 110–2.
- 20 Tübingen 28.5410, Rückert 1997 pl. 4, 2.
- 21 Brommer 1967, 182–3; Brommer 1977, 199–202; Brommer 1963.
- 22 Drougou et al. 1997; for Bassai Hofkes-Brukker 1975.
- 23 Eschbach 1986 *passim* and in particular 42–54 with a reconstruction. In a way this kind of citing local monuments resembles the later Roman use of architecture and architectural sculpture on coins, see Fuchs 1969.
- 24 It measures 89,5 × 48 × 47,5 cm. Basic literature with older references Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, II 566–7 Nr. XXI pl. 331; later appeared Wegener 1985, 318 cat. no. 189; Fuchs 1986, 275–84; Valavanis 2000, 165 pl. 45; on the recent restauration Heres and Massmann 1999.
- 25 Which is difficult to ‘read’ on photos because of the disturbed surface. Most useful are therefore the drawings published by Conze 1891, 288–291 no. 766A which have to be changed only in some minor points like the genitals of the archer, some music instruments of the sirens etc. I thank B. Geissler for executing these changes with Adobe Photoshop.
- 26 There are two more stelai coming from Chios made in this technique, Pfuhl-Möbius 1979, II 566 no. XX pl. 330; 568 no. XXII pl. 330. The only parallel for the engraving technique are the ‘boeotic stelai’ produced in the second half of the 5th century, Pfuhl 1921, XIII–XIV, 665 fig. 633–4; Keramopoulos 1920. They were produced more than 100 years earlier and there is no evidence for a direct influence on the Chiotic monuments; Fuchs 1986, 284 however sees Athens in a mediatory role.
- 27 Forrest 1963, 63–65, esp. 64 with note 79 (“full third century”).
- 28 On the podia of the grave-naiskoi: RVAp II pl. 202, 2 (Underworld painter). 319–34 (Baltimore painter). 345–6 (Capodimonte painter) etc., as a dividing element between painted zones or panels: RVAp II pl. 179, 1. 184, 1. 314, 5. 314, 5 etc.; on mosaics: Salzmann 1982, pl. 14, 1 (Olynth); on toreutic objects: Pfrommer 1990, pl. 3, 1. 27, 1–4. 29 (until the middle of the third century); painting: Tomb of Nea Michaniona, Moreno 1988, 24 ill. 12; Tomb of Maglij, Valeva 1999 (on the painted amphora); Vergina, ‘Eurydike’s tomb’, Ginouvès 1993, 157–9 fig. 136–7 (on the throne). The upper tendril with its simplified form, unmoved and horizontal with parallel leaves finds no exact parallels; the typus in a more elaborate form appears for example on the Alexander sarcophagus, von Graeve 1970, pl. 10–16, simplified on Hadra vases, Guerrini 1964, pl. 5 no. D 10.
- 29 Goulaki-Voutira 1992, 866 no. 173–181 pl. 577; Hoffmann and Davidson 1965, 78–80 no. 12; Dohrn 1989, 308 pl. 61, 1–2; Hoffmann 1964 with pl. 30; coins: Goulaki-Voutira 1992, 894 no. 697–711 pl. 604.
- 30 Pagenstecher 1909, pl. 15; in vase painting we mostly find a quadriga and not a biga: Schefold 1934, pl. 21; RVAp I pl. 56, 1; RVAp II pl. 191, 1–2.
- 31 Maglij, Valeva 1999, 35–6 no. 14, Ksanlak, Vassiliev 1959, Vergina, prince’s tomb, Andronikos 1984.
- 32 For Halikarnassos see *supra* note 6; Limyra: Götter, Heroen, Herrscher in Lykien 190; Borchhardt 1993, 79–83. On a second century relief from Pergamon, Pergamon VII 346 no. 439, the proportions are different.
- 33 On the tradition of the motif see Hölscher 1967, 68–74.
- 34 Pliny, *NH* 35.141; Dohrn 1989.
- 35 Buschor 1944; Hofstetter 1990; Hofstetter 1994.
- 36 Sirens with a bird’s body playing auloi and kithara are depicted on one of the other chiotic engraved stelai, Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, no. XXII.

- 37 The second from the right on the front and the second from the right on the right side of the pillar. Weege 1926, 97–8 and 109–13 fig. 148–156; Séchan 1930, 173–4; Kachler 1974, 13 fig. 19. It is performed by Persians, amazons or figures with phrygian caps; it is described in detail by Xenophon.
- 38 Euripides, *Helena* 168–179.
- 39 Fabricius 1999, 314; Buschor 1944, 67–8.
- 40 There are exact parallels for most of the groups, especially the female Lapith and the ‘Haarreissergruppe’ (Fig. 15.11) on the front side or the kentauros drawing back his arms on the right side, Hofkes-Brukker 1975.
- 41 For Trysa Oberleitner 1994; Lefkadia, Petsas 1966; Limyra, Borchhardt 1993; Götter, Heroen, Herrscher in Lykien 180–1; Belevi, Praschniker and Theuer, 73–88; Tancke 1989, 25–30. On the representations of the myth in general Drougou *et al.* 1997.
- 42 The nail with different appended things given in perspective is frequent in early Hellenistic tombs, real or painted, see for example Gnathia: Blanc 1999, 22; Nea Michaniona, Moreno 1998, 24 fig. 13; Lefkadia, Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles, Miller 1993, pl. 2–3. 12 e.
- 43 Fabricius 1999, 66–68. 122, discussing situative and heroic connotations; see also Wegener 1985 and Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 41–56. On grave-stelai the tree is often combined with other heroic elements like a snake etc.
- 44 Miltner 1937; Lamert 1937; Schröder 1927, 155–8; Jüthner 1965, 107–8; Patrucco 1972, 43. 186–7 and 365–70 (with epigraphic sources); Buchholz *et al.* 1973, 99–100. There is one Campanian vase-painting of the second half of the 4th century showing three archers and a cock on a column as the target: Naples 82655, Trendall 1967, 254 no. 2/182 pl. 101; Patrucco 1972, 367–8 fig. 179 (erroneously called a white-ground amphora). The black-figure hydria Vatican 416 cited by Patrucco shows not an archer but a boxer with *himantes*.
- 45 Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, no. 539 pl. 83; 640 and 641 pl. 98; 1109 pl. 167; 1278 pl. 189 (warrior); 2277 pl. 321.
- 46 Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, II 543; see also Schild-Xenidou 1997 (on classical reliefs).
- 47 The development of the function of prize-amphoras in grave-contexts has been studied by Valavanis 2000.
- 48 There are also figural friezes on eastern sarcophagi, Hitzl 1991, cat. no. 5 fig. 38–9 18 fig. 64–5.
- 49 Supra n. 40, the athletic scenes are mixed with the kentauros on the ceiling coffers.
- 50 Supra n. 40. The combination of two friezes is also found on some of the ‘graeco-persian’ reliefs, Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, I no. 3–6 pl. 2 (archaic) and no. 73–75 pl. 19 (around 400). It is part of the persian influence on Greek art in Asia Minor. The architectonic character is, however, weakened by the vertical tendrils. Engraved pilasters or alike would have been more explicit. Due to the engraving technique the figures have a more picturesque or rather toreutic than plastic character.

Roman Victory and Greek Identity: The Battle Frieze on the “Parthian” Monument at Ephesus

Lorenz Winkler-Horaček

Starting in 1895, Austrian excavations at various sites throughout the ancient city of Ephesus unearthed numerous relief panels and fragments belonging to a common monument.¹ The majority of these objects can be found today in the Ephesus Museum at the Hofburg in Vienna. The preserved panels reach a height ranging from approximately 2.03 to 2.10 meters. The last significant discoveries at the site took place in 1990.²

A provisional reconstruction of the panel sequence was put forward in 1978 by Wolfgang Oberleitner.³ In his investigation of the material, he concluded that the original length of the frieze was approximately 70m, of which approximately 45m is extant.⁴

The surviving relief fragments can be organized into groups according to content. While this creates the basis for a rough classification, the sequence and specific installation of numerous fragments remain the subject of debate.⁵ The frieze includes the following themes: an adoption within the imperial house celebrated with animal sacrifice and accompanied by members of the imperial family, a battle between the Romans and “barbaric” Orientals⁶, a group of local personifications, an assembly of gods, and finally, three representations of individual figures – Apollo/Helios, Artemis/Selene, and an emperor – each shown in a chariot drawn by a team of animals. Unfortunately, nothing of the emperor figure’s head is preserved, and therefore it cannot be more specifically identified.

The function and architectonic form of the structure onto which the panels were originally affixed remains unclear. Due to the presence of a battle scene in which Roman soldiers struggle against an apparently Oriental opponent, the artifact is generally designated the “Parthian” monument by contemporary researchers. Various suggestions as to its function have been made, ranging from commemorative monument, to cenotaph,

to altar.⁷ Oberleitner argues that the size of the relief slabs and the presence of outside corner panels make it impossible that this could have been anything other than a monumental altar.⁸ Other scholars generally accept this view.⁹ The original site of the monument also remains unknown, since the relief panels were not found in their original positions, but rather in sites of late antique second or third reuse.¹⁰

Interpretations of the monument and its program are based on the relief panels, which thus occupy a central place in scholarly investigations. These studies are often preoccupied with suggesting a concrete date for the monument, and have sought to establish a relationship between the narrative structure of the relief and the concrete historical events represented in it. While an accurate dating of the work is certainly important, an exclusive focus on this aspect has meant that fundamental information inhering in the images has been overlooked. In what follows, I will take up some specific points presented in the scenes of battle and examine their implications within a wider historical context. A brief overview of the existing scholarship will provide a crucial backdrop for this exploration.

The starting point for all literature on the date of the monument and its significance is the representation of a sacrifice, in which two *togati* with covered heads flank a vertical staff or scepter.¹¹ These are the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. A boy stands between them – presumably Lucius Verus – upon whose shoulder Antoninus Pius has laid his hand. To the right, behind Antoninus Pius, a further *togatus* is to be seen, who might be identified as Marcus Aurelius. This, then, is almost certainly a representation of the adoption of Antoninus Pius by Hadrian set in the context of a sacrifice on the 25th of February A.D. 138. This adoption not only established Antoninus Pius as successor to Hadrian but also determined

the next two generations of rulers. For, as the designated heir of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius simultaneously adopted Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, thus selecting them as his own heirs. The image, then, presents the continuity of the imperial house over several generations. The four main figures are flanked by sacrificial bulls and accompanied by a relatively static procession in which other members of the imperial family are present.¹²

While it is widely accepted that this panel does indeed represent the adoption that took place in A.D. 138,¹³ this scene is the basis for two conflicting interpretations and dates given to the monument as a whole. Many Archaeologists have argued that the edifice was erected as a victory monument to the Roman emperor Lucius Verus, who in their view is represented in the frieze by the young boy at the focal point of the adoption scene and is thus its central figure.¹⁴ This view has also been taken as the starting point for an interpretation of the battle scenes (Figs 16.1–6). Since the adversaries are portrayed as “Orientals” – a term which will be discussed below – scholars believe that the events in this relief represent the Parthian war fought under the command of Lucius Verus between 161 and 166. The other major themes running through the frieze have been read in light of this interpretation as well: the series of local personifications, for example, are seen to represent important cities of the Roman empire, especially those that played a key role in the Parthian wars.¹⁵ Lucius Verus, who died and was deified in the year 169, is identified as the figure of the emperor in the chariot. Fritz Eichler interpreted this scene as a representation of his apotheosis, and more recent studies have concurred.¹⁶ As conclusive evidence of the connection between the monument and the person of Lucius Verus, some have cited a figure apparently representing him as an adult, of which only a fragment of the head remains. Oberleitner situated this fragment among the assembly of gods.¹⁷ All these arguments have led many scholars to assume that the monument was created shortly after the *consecratio* of Lucius Verus, and that its five thematic groups represent the most important stages of his life on earth and in the hereafter.¹⁸ Furthermore, a close connection to Ephesus would indeed have existed, because Lucius Verus established his headquarters there for a period during the Parthian war, and it is also the place where he married Lucilla.¹⁹

A number of interpretations, however, have contested both this date and the theory that the monument was dedicated to Lucius Verus.²⁰ Paolo Liverani has taken up these questions and developed many of their facets in more precise terms.²¹ Liverani contends that the reliefs are the remains of a monument erected to the emperor Antoninus Pius in the early fourth decade of the second century A.D. The adoption scene with the sacrifice would thus represent Hadrian’s transfer of power to Antoninus Pius²², and the emperor in the horse-drawn chariot would be Hadrian, ascending to heaven.²³ Most recently, this scene has also been interpreted as a *profectio* (maybe of Antoninus Pius).²⁴ Both scenes would therefore illustrate

the stability of imperial rule, framed and thus guaranteed by the assembly of the gods. The scenes of fighting, according to Liverani, do not represent any specific battle but rather the overall military superiority of the Romans.²⁵ The local personifications serve to enhance and underscore the fundamental support for the provinces without making reference to a specific event.²⁶ Liverani sees as the occasion for the erection of this monument the close relationship established between the emperor and the city of Ephesus. The monument could thus, following Liverani’s argumentation, be dated to the fourth decade of the second century A.D.²⁷

These two interpretations are irreconcilable²⁸ and conclusive evidence that could provide the basis for a firm dating is scarce. The scholarly debate is very lively. Only recently, several scholars have again argued for an early dating of the monument.²⁹ Given the great disparity in craftsmanship, it is also difficult to identify a clear style in these fragments and to compare them to similar reliefs from the city of Rome.³⁰ To be sure, people depicted in the scenes of adoption and sacrifice might offer indications for a *terminus post quem*: the emperors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius can be definitely identified. It has been firmly established that the child figure here is indeed Lucius Verus, and the representations of the empresses Sabina and Faustina Major are also uncontroversial.³¹ Beyond this, no further secure identifications can be made on the monument in its present state. This also applies to the head fragment which Oberleitner claimed to represent Lucius Verus and placed among the assembly of the gods.³² In sum, the adoption scene merely attests to a date of A.D. 138 or later,³³ particularly given its focus on the dual adoption and thus the line of dynastic succession established by Hadrian for the next two generations.

For further possible hints as to the historical period from which the monument dates, scholars have also looked to the battle frieze. But what kind of information can be gleaned from its content, and how much can we interpret from it? The examination of its historical message is my central concern in the following, and I start by exploring the composition in detail.

The seven relief panels, of which one has been preserved only in fragmentary form, can be divided into four groups, each showing different scenes. I will refer to them in the following according to Oberleitner’s catalogue numbers (Scenes 65 to 68).³⁴ The original total length of the frieze is unknown, but since there are several gaps between panels it must have been significantly longer than the sum of the extant parts. Oberleitner concludes, for compositional reasons, that it was 18.26 m long, whereas Ganschow estimates it to have been 21 m.³⁵ Although the reconstructions of the frieze as a whole differ in some respects, there is general agreement in the scholarship on the sequence of the extant panels. In one central scene – placed by Oberleitner in the middle of the frieze as Scene 66 and Ganschow in the left half³⁶ – two chariot horses gallop into the thick of a tumultuous



Fig. 16.1. "Parthian" Monument, battle frieze ("Scene 66"). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. I 865. Photo: Museum (supplemented by Brigitte Meyer, Rostock).

battle (Fig. 16.1). Neither the *biga* they once pulled nor the emperor presumably guiding it, are preserved: these were originally portrayed on an adjacent panel. Upon closer examination, an initial impression of chaos gives way to the discernment of individual groups. The two horses divide the composition in half. Under their hooves and bodies lies another horse that has collapsed, and, next to it, two fallen warriors. The figure on the left (O5) sits on the ground, wounded, pulling an arrow from his right side. His upper body is naked and he wears trousers or a loincloth, a shoulder belt, and a Phrygian cap indicating that he is an Oriental foe.³⁷ His face is bearded, and his physiognomy is writhed with emotion, yet youthful.³⁸ To his left crouches a similarly dressed warrior, also wearing a short, girded loincloth (O6). He has drawn his sword and holds it atop his shield pointed inward, about to take his own life.

The portion of the relief plane above the horses is

dominated by warriors still engaged in single combat: on the left is an Oriental wearing trousers (O4) who protects his body with his shield and simultaneously tries to parry his opponent's blow with the sword in his right hand. The way his head is thrown back emphasizes that he is on the defensive, and his facial physiognomy expresses tension and suffering (Fig. 16.2):³⁹ his eyes bulge, his mouth is opened wide with tongue and teeth bared as if he is screaming, and his hair is tangled and wild. His adversary (G1) stands slightly above and raises his right arm to strike. This figure is not clad as a Roman legionary, but wears only an *exomis* fastened over his right shoulder and a pseudo-Attic helmet. While his expression is also marked by strenuous exertion, his face is significantly more idealized than that of his opponent.⁴⁰

In the background of Scene 66, and to the right of the horse's head, we see two more men engaged in hand-to-hand combat. One figure, whose head projects out from



Fig. 16.2. "Parthian" Monument, detail of the battle frieze. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. I 865. Photo: Museum.

behind the horse, is apparently a Roman soldier (R3). He grasps his Oriental opponent (O7) by the hair at the front of his head in a traditional gesture of subjugation. The Oriental adversary attempts to defend himself by raising his right arm with a stone in his grip to strike the Roman.

Further to the right in front of the horses, the scene reaches a conclusion in the figure of a man who appears to be fighting on the side of the Romans (G2). He wears a girded *chiton* that leaves his legs and arms free, a cloak across his shoulder, and boots, and he is armed with a sword and shield. The head of the figure has been lost.

The next group of extant panels, Scene 67 in Oberleitner's numeration (Fig. 16.3),⁴¹ actually brings together two scenes. A young man (G3) raises his sword to strike a "barbarian" adversary kneeling in front of him to the left. Because of his highly idealized appearance, this figure has been the object of a great deal of interest in the literature. He wears a short, girded *chiton* that leaves his arms and legs free, and boots made of animal hide.⁴² His smooth face with its idealized features is framed by a mane of curly hair and he wears a pseudo-Attic helmet with crest and lacking the typical cheek coverings to protect the face. Along with his helmet and sword, he is armed with a large round shield. His adversary, the kneeling "barbarian" at the lower left edge of the panel (O8), turns away with sword raised, apparently prepared to meet his fate.

To the right of this group, a Roman warrior on horseback (R4) plunges a spear into the throat of a fallen

enemy (O9). The former wears a breastplate, and over it a *cingulum* and *paludamentum*. This characterizes him as a field commander. What is unusual and noteworthy here is that he wears the same non-Roman trousers as his Oriental foe.

Following a gap in the relief, the events of the battle are condensed in the two further remaining panels of Scene 68 (Fig. 16.4).⁴³ An armored Roman horseman (R5) leaps to the right and turns around on his horse so that we see him from the back. Here again, two "barbarians" crouch with a collapsed horse under the hooves of their attacker (O10/O11). A further adversary (O12) flees to the right. He is youthful, wears no beard, and can be recognized as an Oriental by his Phrygian cap. His upper body is clothed in a girded *chiton* with long sleeves, and around his shoulders he wears a cloak.

The compositional focal point in these panels is a warrior fighting on the side of the Romans (G4). He too is portrayed not in traditional Roman battledress but rather wearing a sleeveless girded *exomis* fastened over his left shoulder, as well as boots. The head and right arm of the figure are missing. With his left arm, he grips the hair of a foe kneeling on the ground in front of him (O13) and pulls his head back. The vanquished enemy is virtually naked; only the paw of a panther hide hangs from his shoulder across his chest. Through the frontal position, his naked body is exposed and presented to the viewer.

This frieze continues with two more Romans on horseback (R6–R7) charging across two "barbarians" (O14–O15). The extant part of the panels ends with them.



Fig. 16.3. “Parthian” Monument, battle frieze (“Scene 67”). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. I 866, including a panel in Selcuk (cast). Photo: Museum (supplemented by Brigitte Meyer, Rostock).

The Roman warrior on horseback at the front wears over his armor a shoulder cloak, presumably a *paludamentum*. Of the heads, only that of the background figure remains (Fig. 16.5). Head and helmet are similar to those of the warrior in the previous scene, no. 67 (Fig. 16.3. G3). The horse of the Roman is biting one of the “barbarians” in the back of his head (Figs 16.4–5. O14). The latter attempts to defend himself with his arm raised and bent, holding a shield. Another “barbarian” lays defeated and crumpled at his feet (O15).

The last panel to be discussed, no. 65, forms the left end to the frieze (Fig. 16.6).⁴⁴ Across a horse’s back lies a slumped Oriental (O1). Another strides forward in front of him (O2), turns his head to look back while dragging behind him by the hair compatriot (O3), who can only crawl along the ground: he is wounded and trying to pull an arrow from his back. Behind this group of defeated Orientals stand two Romans (R1–R2), one of them playing a *tuba*. Clearly, the battle is over and the Romans have won.⁴⁵

Because of their trousers, loin cloths, long-sleeved garments and so-called Phrygian caps, scholars have

identified the Romans’ adversaries as Orientals.⁴⁶ In particular the Phrygian cap – thought to originate from traditional Persian headwear – was frequently used in Roman art as an attribute signifying Eastern peoples.⁴⁷ It also adorns mythological figures such as Attis and Ganymede who had a connection to the Orient.⁴⁸ It would have been quite natural for viewers to see these Orientals as the Romans’ traditional eastern enemy, the Parthians, and since the major Parthian wars of the late second century A.D. were those of Lucius Verus from 161 to 166, a concrete historical setting for the frieze would seem clear.

Klaus Stähler, and more recently Michaela Fuchs, have examined several details more closely to connect the events of these Parthian wars with the representations in the reliefs.⁴⁹ Two Roman horsemen on the frieze have generally been identified as field commanders based on the fact that they both wear a *paludamentum* (R4, R6). The instrumental military leaders in the Parthian wars were three generals: Statius Priscus, Avidius Cassius, and Martius Verus.⁵⁰ In Stähler’s view, two of them could be the generals represented in the frieze, and the third would



Fig. 16.4. “Parthian” Monument, battle frieze (“Scene 68”). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. I 863. Photo: Museum (supplemented by Brigitte Meyer, Rostock).

probably have been found in the lost panels, although Stähler does not exclude the possibility that the frieze could have represented only the two field commanders Avidius Cassius and Martius Verus.⁵¹ In the frieze they are portrayed as equals, both as cavalymen on horseback and also surrounded by foot soldiers. According to Stähler, this could allude to two distinct military actions, and in fact this would conform to actual historical events: two separate military offensives did occur when the generals invaded the Parthian empire. The field commander who stands closest to the emperor’s *biga* could be Avidius Cassius, and the fact that he wears trousers could indicate that he came from Syria⁵².

But do the images really support such an interpretation? The argument that the portrayal of two field commanders is a direct allusion to the two military campaigns can scarcely be defended in view of the fragmentary character of the frieze. In the composition of these panels a visual rhythm is manifest between soldiers on horseback and soldiers on foot, and we can assume that this rhythm would have continued on in the lost panels. Therefore we do not know exactly how many Roman field commanders appeared in

the frieze. Since the horseman in the background of Scene 68 (Fig. 16.4. R 7) is also wearing a *paludamentum*, he should also be interpreted as a commander. The view that the field commander with trousers represents Avidius Cassius also seems to me contrived, and offers no adequate explanation as to why a Roman field commander is shown in the trousers of his enemies. The frieze may or may not be based on the specific Parthian campaign of Lucius Verus. The focus only on this interpretation seems to inhibit a richer understanding of the images themselves. In order to reach more meaningful conclusions, we need to proceed to a closer examination of the frieze’s individual visual elements.⁵³

Let us turn first to the Romans’ adversaries. They could be Parthians. But no attempt is made to clearly identify them as such, and their portrayal diverges significantly from the traditional Parthian iconography, as was shown convincingly in recent studies by Alice Landskron.⁵⁴ In Roman art, Parthians were usually represented either wearing long-sleeved V-necked tunics, or they were simply subsumed under a generic image of “the Oriental”.⁵⁵ Such an image entailed wearing



Fig. 16.5. "Parthian" Monument, detail of the battle frieze. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. I 863. Photo: Museum.

not only trousers and the Phrygian cap but also a knee-length, doubly-girded overgarment with long sleeves, or alternatively, a similar undergarment accompanied by a simple *chiton*. This outfit was often worn with a long cloak around the shoulders and draped across the back.⁵⁶ In Ephesus, a similarly attired Oriental was found as a figure on a pillar near the south gate of the lower agora.⁵⁷ The figure on the "Parthian" Monument at Ephesus that most closely fits this image is the youth in the background of Scene 68 (Fig. 16.4. O12) and, with some qualifications, the fallen Oriental on the right edge⁵⁸ (O15). These two are the only ones wearing both trousers and a long-sleeved garment. But with the exception these and two additional figures in Scene 65 (Fig. 16.6. O1, O3), all the Romans' opponents are wearing nothing above the waist. Historically, this would hardly have been typical of the Parthians. And the naked and defeated warrior in the center of Scene 68 departs completely from traditional modes of representing the Oriental (Fig. 16.4. O13). This figure as well is unimaginable as part of any real historical Parthian war scene.

The Orientals fighting the Romans here cannot therefore be said to depict members of any specific ethnic group.⁵⁹ Their trousers and long-sleeved garments are also worn by other enemies of Rome – one need only recall the

Dacians and the northern barbarians portrayed on the columns erected as monuments in Rome.⁶⁰ Figures wearing trousers but naked to the waist also appear in other contexts: on the Gemma Augustea, for example, and in isolated cases on Trajan's Column and the Column of Marcus Aurelius, where they represent northern and western Europeans.⁶¹ In the case of Trajan's Column, it is primarily the Germanic reserve units fighting on the side of the Romans who appear in this state of half-dress. The bearded heads with tangled and wild hair on the frieze at Ephesus also conform in very broad terms to an iconography of "barbarians".⁶²

The figures on the monument at Ephesus are attired in a mixture of traditional costume: that of northern "barbarians" – for example, Gallic and Germanic peoples – and of Orientals.⁶³ The resulting image is exceptionally vague. Since particular figures wear the Phrygian cap and are portrayed with characteristically "Oriental" attributes (Fig. 16.4. O12), I will continue to use this term in the following discussion, since this aspect appears to me to be the dominant one here. Nevertheless, elements of traditional northern barbarian dress and physiognomy do situate this image of the Oriental within a much more complex iconography of "barbarians".

Another unusual feature of this frieze is the naked



Fig. 16.6. "Parthian" Monument, battle frieze ("Scene 65"). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. I 858. Photo: Museum (supplemented by Brigitte Meyer, Rostock).

warrior (Fig. 16.4. O13). Although it is possible that a naked upper body would be used to characterize northern "barbarians", the complete nakedness of an adversary engaged in battle is not very common in Roman "historical" relief. The kind of nakedness portrayed in the frieze at Ephesus is more typical of mythological and mythologizing contexts. A collection of Roman sarcophagi from the period after A.D. 160 depict a battle between armored soldiers and naked opponents wearing torques, which mark them as Gauls.⁶⁴ The elements of complete and partial nakedness may refer to a historical event from the much more distant past, such as the Gallic wars waged by Pergamene rulers in the third century B.C. in Asia Minor. Bernard Andreae identified the source for the images on the Roman sarcophagi as an early second century B.C. battle painting from Pergamon, although others have disputed this interpretation.⁶⁵ Yet, leaving this theory aside, it is clear that these images would not have called to mind any contemporary events for Roman

viewers: "... these figures cannot be connected to any official monument and certainly did not respond to recent events; by this time battles against the Gauls were affairs of the distant past."⁶⁶ The nakedness of the Romans' foes has implications beyond an ethnic characterization of northern barbarians: its effect is to lift the events out of the realm of historical experience and transform them into myth. Other battle scenes with unclothed enemies such as the friezes of Mantova and La Granja or later sarcophagi⁶⁷ should probably be evaluated from a similar standpoint in their relation to historical reality.

The naked warrior on the Ephesian relief establishes a visual connection to mythological scenes. Formal precursors can be identified as far back as Greek art of the 5th century B.C.,⁶⁸ but also can be found in Pergamon, which lies in close geographic proximity to Ephesus. Here, mythological Giants are depicted as the adversaries of the gods – naked, and shown in a similar position. I will return to this formal comparison below.⁶⁹

It is to be stressed that the Roman adversaries are represented through a fusion of visual elements taken from a standard northern-“barbarian” type as well as that of the Oriental. At the same time, these images reach beyond the framework of historical representation and introduce elements from a mythological visual tradition into the events of the battle.

What do the Romans look like? The surviving panels present a total of eleven combatants on the Roman side confronting fifteen Oriental opponents. Significant differences may be detected among them: seven figures are clearly identified as Roman soldiers through their equipment and uniforms, and at least two (or more) of these as field commanders. However, four additional warriors are fighting on the Roman side without uniforms, each dressed simply in sleeveless *chiton* or *exomis*, boots, and helmet. In one case, this ensemble is worn with a cloak around the shoulders. Leaving aside Scene 65 (Fig. 16.6), where the military conflict has already ended, the entire battle scene consists of five Roman soldiers fighting side by side with four warriors not clothed in Roman military dress. Among the latter, three are located in the central foreground of the frieze (G2–4). In contrast, soldiers clearly identified as Romans are depicted in the background of the relief, with the exception of a field commander (R4) and the emperor who would have ridden in the biga. The implication of this arrangement is that the events of the battle are not determined solely by the Roman legionaries, but also by the warriors in *chiton* and *exomis* who comprise the majority of the figures found on the same plane of the relief as the emperor.

The diversity among the various figures fighting on the Roman side has already been observed in earlier descriptions of the monument. The combatants without Roman uniforms have been associated with gods or read as personifications of ideal values: Oberleitner, for example, identified the figure standing in front of the emperor’s chariot in Scene 66 (Fig. 16.1. G2) as Mars Propugnator.⁷⁰ Klaus Stähler argued that the central warrior in Scene 67 (Fig. 16.3. G3) could be recognized as Honos, the personification of honorable military conduct.⁷¹ The repeated portrayal of such unusual participants as these in the battle led Stähler to propose that for each Roman field commander in the relief there is a corresponding personification of his military fame. Thus, he saw in the warrior of Scene 68 (Fig. 16.4. G4) a further personification. Stähler’s thesis has been recently revived by Michaela Fuchs.⁷²

Interpreting the warring figures as gods or personifications is problematic for a number of reasons. First, it ignores a detail in Scene 66, in which a fourth non-uniformed figure is shown wrestling down an Oriental (Fig. 16.1. G1). This man’s physiognomy is not quite as smooth and “classical” as that of his counterpart in Scene 67 (Fig. 16.3. G3), although his costume – an *exomis* – is identical with that of the alleged “personification figure” from Scene 68 (Fig. 16.4. G4). The beardless face, the shape of the helmet and the somewhat longer hair

unquestionably share much with the motifs characterizing the warrior from Scene 67 (Fig. 16.3. G3), but there is nothing to suggest a relationship of this figure to a field commander in the sense of a personal personification or divinity.

There are additional arguments against reading the non-uniformed figures as representations of gods. Honos was represented in various ways in Roman artworks, often rendered with a bare upper torso, a cloak draped around the hips, and a cornucopia. He can also be depicted wearing armor or a Roman *toga*.⁷³ Beyond this, however, the decisive point is that Honos is never shown actually participating in battle scenes in Roman “historical” relief.⁷⁴ The same is true for other deities and personifications. To be sure, Jupiter appears on Trajan’s Column in the battle of Tapae, and a divine presence on the Column of Marcus Aurelius alludes to the “miracle of the rain”.⁷⁵ However, in both cases, divine intervention is shown as a miraculous occurrence. The gods in these reliefs carry out their divine acts at a distance from a place far above, and do not fight alongside the Romans on the human plane. A battle of the Romans with the gods as participants cannot be conceived in the form represented on the Parthian monument. Stähler recognized this problem and interpreted it as evidence of the influence of a Greek tradition.⁷⁶

The interpretation of these non-uniformed figures on the battle frieze must proceed by means of the identification of common motifs and formal elements. In this context, the clothing of the figures is the most striking element, and it stands in direct contrast to the Roman uniforms. Two types of robe are in evidence. One of these is a *chiton* fastened on both shoulders (G2, G3), and the other is the *exomis*, which fastens on one shoulder and leaves the upper torso partially exposed (G1, G4). Both of these types have a long tradition in Greece:

The *chiton* which covers the entire upper body is present in the scene of a struggle at the burial monument of the Attic horseman, Dexileos.⁷⁷ An additional precedent exists on the Pergamon altar. On the Telephos frieze, several of the hero’s companions are wearing this type of *chiton* with cloaks hung around their shoulders. Among them, a particularly strong comparison is offered by the figure who accompanies the hero Telephos on panel 16 (Fig. 16.7).⁷⁸ With his belted *chiton*, boots and helmet, this figure is iconographically related to the Ephesian warriors in Scene 66 and 67 (Fig. 16.1, 3. G2–3). The youthful, idealized head in the Pergamon frieze is framed by curls that flow forth from under his helmet, recalling once again the warring figure from Scene 67 in Ephesus (Fig. 16.3. G3). Even the pseudo-Attic helmets, decorated with fine volutes, can be compared.

The *exomis* of the Ephesian warriors (Fig. 16.1, 4. G1, G4) is common to Greek battle scenes. In the Hellenistic frieze of the Temple of Artemis in Magnesia on the Meander, the Greeks fight in similar dress against the Amazons.⁷⁹ A group of Greek warriors confront the Amazons naked or wearing only a *chlamys*; others are shown with breastplates,⁸⁰ and a third group wear the



Fig. 16.7. Great Altar of Pergamon: Telephos frieze, panel 16. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Inv. T.I.32. Photo: Museum Neg.-Nr. PM 8241, Johannes Laurentius.

exomis fastened over one shoulder.⁸¹ In their external appearance they cannot be distinguished from the warriors depicted on the Ephesian frieze. The juxtaposition of warriors shown with armor and those wearing the *exomis* is another point of comparison. In Roman art and especially in Roman “historical” relief, however, depictions of warriors wearing an *exomis*, a simple *chiton* or tunic are relatively rare.⁸²

The figures in Greek dress from Ephesus cannot be more specifically identified. Even a contemporary observer of the frieze would hardly have had access to more specific information in support of a more detailed interpretation. He would, however, have been familiar with these figures through Greek relief sculpture in Asia Minor and could have connected them with the Greek heroes. This does not imply, however, that the figures were meant to be equated one-to-one with particular heroes: in fact, there are no specific heroes portrayed here. The Roman legionaries in the background as well as the Roman emperor who would have been portrayed on one of the lost panels make it clear that a Roman battle and a Roman victory are being recorded here. However, through the notable resemblance between some of the combatants with Greek heroes from older monuments, this Roman victory is given a new context. It is placed in a tradition of both Greek and mythological battles. “Real” Roman soldiers struggle alongside ostensibly Greek “heroes” against a common foe: the Oriental “barbarians” whose

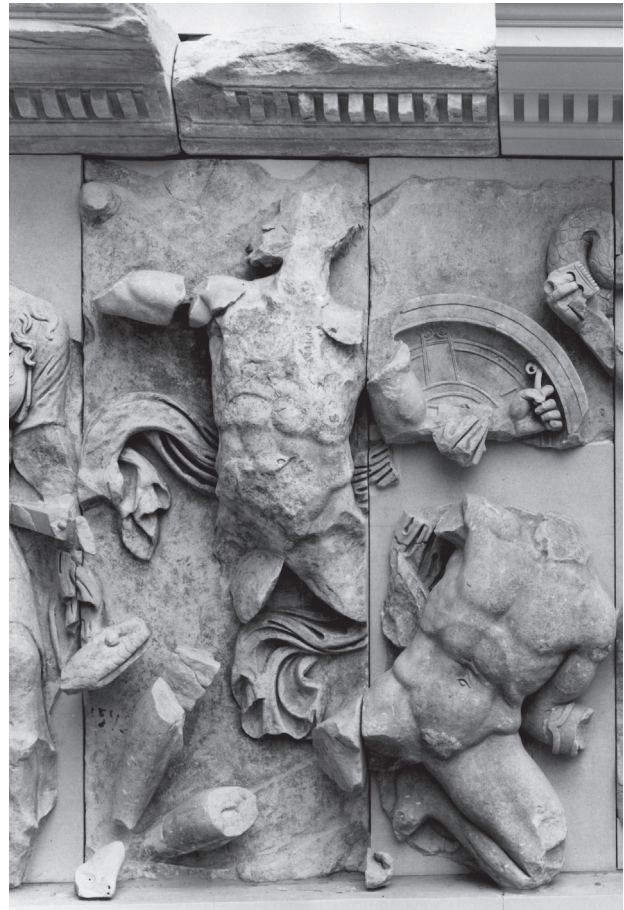


Fig. 16.8. Great Altar of Pergamon: North frieze. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photo: Museum Neg.-Nr. PM 8378, Johannes Laurentius.

images have partially been drawn from mythological precedents. Through the choice of figures – Roman soldiers and idealized Greek warriors on one side, and Oriental “barbarians” and unclothed foes on the other – the frieze at Ephesus fuses historic and mythological components.

Before embarking on a reading of this unusual visual program, a number of additional formal elements and motifs need to be stressed, for there are still further reasons for locating the battle frieze at Ephesus firmly in a Hellenistic visual tradition. In one sense, it is not unusual for Roman sculpture to make recourse to a Hellenistic tradition, and indeed this is the case in essentially all Roman battle scenes.⁸³ However, the Ephesian battle frieze makes reference not only to later Roman battle-sarcophagi, which possibly originate in Pergamene models,⁸⁴ it also demonstrates a particularly close relationship with the Hellenistic frieze on the Pergamon Altar.⁸⁵ By reexamining several of the details of this altar in what follows, I hope to clarify this relationship.

The central group in Scene 68 (Fig. 16.4. G4, O13) shows a Greek warrior lunging slightly forward. He raises his right arm to attack and with his left hand he grasps the hair of his foe. The latter has fallen onto his left knee,



Fig. 16.9. Great Altar of Pergamon: North frieze. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photo: Museum Neg.-Nr. PM 8384, Johannes Laurentius.

with his right leg outstretched to form an extended diagonal line. His head, turned toward his opponent, serves as the peak of a triangulated pyramid composition. This type of figural arrangement was widespread in Greek and Roman art and goes back to the Greek classical era.⁸⁶ It is taken up repeatedly in the large frieze of the Pergamon Altar with diverse variations, and can be read as a visual sign of absolute victory and crushing defeat.⁸⁷ In the north frieze, a shield-carrying god hurls himself at a human-legged Giant, who also had carried a shield in his left hand (Fig. 16.8).⁸⁸ In the same north frieze, a goddess leaps toward a snake-legged Giant, pulling at his hair (Fig. 16.9).⁸⁹ The struggle of the Triton and, with a few modifications, the group surrounding Zeus and Athena display a similar

configuration.⁹⁰ In considering again the relief at Ephesus, the fact that it is precisely within this formal grouping of figures that the defeated enemy is represented unclothed connects the scene to mythological prototypes, especially the Pergamon frieze. The formal arrangement of figures in Scene 67 (Fig. 16.3. O8, G3) also draws on a classical motif, to which the Heracles group on the Great Altar at Pergamon makes recourse.⁹¹

Still more examples can be cited. The Oriental adversaries of the Romans in Ephesus exhibit faces distorted with pain and despair. While this conforms to a standard Roman iconography of the “barbarian,”⁹² the extreme contortion of their faces, with their shaggy hair and beards, betrays a close relationship to the Giants



Fig. 16.10. Great Altar of Pergamon: Detail of the north frieze. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photo: Museum, Johannes Laurentius.



Fig. 16.11. Great Altar of Pergamon: East frieze. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photo: Museum, Johannes Laurentius.

of the Pergamon Altar. This is particularly pointed in a comparison of the Oriental warriors in Scene 66 (Fig. 16.2) and the Giant of the so-called “Biting Group” on the north frieze of the Pergamon Altar (Fig. 16.10). Of course, not all the “barbarians” on the Ephesus monument are shown with such a high degree of emotionalism. The figure in front of the horseman in Scene 68 (Fig. 16.4. O12) shows a youthful physiognomy. The Pergamon frieze also contains idealized, youthful figures fighting on the side of the bearded Giants; for example the opponent of Artemis on the east frieze.⁹³ This accentuates – and at the same time relativizes – distinctions among the warring enemies.

The pathos of suffering among the defeated and prostrate adversaries on the “Parthian” monument extends throughout the lower half of the frieze. Dying, wounded, and dead “barbarians” as well as collapsed horses are everywhere. This epically scaled and elaborately detailed depiction of the death and suffering of a defeated enemy army is an element in a fixed repertoire of Roman representations of battle, and its roots are Hellenistic.⁹⁴ Yet, even beyond this, the figures on the “Parthian” monument seem to be informed by a more particular, acute awareness of Pergamene art: the dying Oriental under the horse in Scene 66, who pulls an arrow from his side (Fig.

16.1. O5) and also his neighbor, who is taking his own life with a sword (O6), resemble the motifs of the Gallic victory monument set up by Attalos I in Pergamon.⁹⁵ A further common motif is that of animals fighting on the side of the victor. The Roman horse in Scene 68 bites the Oriental opponent in front of him in the head, while the victim attempts to defend himself with his left arm (Fig. 16.5). On the Pergamon Altar, the dog belonging to Artemis bites a Giant on the east frieze in the neck (Fig. 16.11), and a lion attacks a Giant on the north frieze (Fig. 16.12).⁹⁶

The significance of these parallels should not be exaggerated, because, as previously stated, Roman battle scenes typically drew many elements from the Hellenistic tradition.⁹⁷ Indeed, there are other visual elements of the Ephesus frieze that stress the Roman character of the representation and the distinction between elements belonging within the normal repertoire of Roman “historical” relief and those unique to the frieze at Ephesus is often difficult to define precisely. Nevertheless, many individual characteristics of the Ephesian battle frieze cannot be explained by the conventions of Roman “official” art: indeed, in this monument Greek traditions are incorporated to an unusual degree. The partnering of an idealized combatant with a Roman legionary, as well as the



Fig. 16.12. Great Altar of Pergamon: North frieze. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photo: Museum Neg.-Nr. PM 8386, Johannes Laurentius.

visual synthesis of “barbarian,” Oriental, and mythic foe are not typically found in the urban monuments of Rome. These elements, together with the close relationships to the Hellenistic art of Pergamon – especially the Altar frieze –, link the war depicted in the Ephesian frieze to the mythic battles of the Greek past.

Through this connection, the images at Ephesus are imbued with a new semantic force. To better understand the content these images convey, it is useful to review the ideological significance of the wars with the East, a topic that has been the subject of extensive investigation in the literature. Because of their prominent place in this military history, the Persians will be accorded particular attention in my discussion.⁹⁸

Since the time of the Late Republic, the Parthian Empire in Persia continuously opposed the expansion of the Roman Empire. Under Augustus, state propaganda focused on the resolution of the Parthian question more than any other single event in foreign politics⁹⁹ and established policy guidelines for future emperors to follow. The return of Roman standards in 20 B.C. was celebrated in the manner of a triumphant military victory. The epochal meaning of this event drew comparisons with

the Persian War of the Early Classical period as well as the conquests of Alexander the Great.¹⁰⁰ The ideological exaggeration of the conflict itself can be traced back to the Greeks’ struggle to defend themselves against the invading Achaemenid Persians during the 5th century B.C. The notion of a fundamental opposition between Greeks and Orientals originated in the context of these events.¹⁰¹ It found expression in the construction of a new and extreme image of the enemy, and intensified into a complete polarization of rival cultures.¹⁰² Athenian visual art in particular embraced this theme and conferred on it a mythic status. As a sign of the conflict between the Greeks and the Oriental “barbarians”¹⁰³, the fight of the Greek heroes against the Amazons or Centaurs and the struggle of the Gods against the Giants were reinterpreted as a mirror of the Persian Wars. The metopes on the Parthenon stand as the most prominent example of this.¹⁰⁴ With the conquest of the Persian empire under Alexander the Great, this ideology faded away or shifted its focus. Later, under changed historical circumstances, the conflict was revived, and now the Gauls came to represent the enemy *per se*. During the third and second century B.C., the Pergamene Empire conquered invading Gauls and Celts over the course of several battles in Asia Minor. The self-image of the Pergamene ruling dynasty was strongly defined by these successful wars against the Gauls, through which they situated themselves in a long tradition of Hellenic-Barbarian opposition.¹⁰⁵ This was expressed in diverse memorials, among them the well-known Gallic victory monuments.¹⁰⁶ The victory over the Gauls thus stands as the intellectual point of departure behind the building of the Pergamon Altar and the message of the Great Frieze.¹⁰⁷ To be sure, the victory over the Gauls is not the only event being celebrated here:¹⁰⁸ in a more universal sense, the frieze venerates the victory of a divine and benevolent immanent order over all powers that threaten to tear it apart.¹⁰⁹ But at the same time, it reaffirms the success and legitimacy of the Pergamene ruling house and the Pergamon state as a whole.¹¹⁰

Through its typological selection of figures, the battle frieze at Ephesus embraces and promotes this ideology and grounds it in the Greek past. The soldiers in Greek dress, with their idealized resemblance to Greek heroes, give the events of the Roman battle a timeless character. The opponents of the Romans, with their iconographic blending of Orientals, general “barbarians”, and mythic antagonists, accentuate this transcendent element.

And yet the battle frieze does not depict a mythical event. Its connection to the Roman empire and Roman society is expressed in the legionaries and the field commanders. The frieze is clearly meant to illustrate a Roman victory over the “barbaric” Orientals, but this victory takes its place within a Greek tradition and thereby mythologizes itself. The frieze visualizes the eternal victory of Rome over the East by mobilizing the Greek visual tradition. It becomes, therefore, more a description of the timeless triumph of Rome than a report of concrete historical events.

A crucial point must be emphasized: this work has no precursor in Roman “official” art that shows any similar insertion of idealized warriors into battle scenes. For this reason, the monument must have a local character directly related to Ephesus, the city where it was erected. To understand this aspect of the monument, a brief overview of its history will follow. Here I refer to the work of Helmut Halfmann, whose research on urban planning and city builders in Pergamon and Ephesus brought out a fundamental conflict in the typologies of these two major cities in Asia Minor. Although his findings – as he stresses himself – still await an extensive study of this society and its economic history¹¹¹ that could provide the basis for considering them further, they nonetheless provide insight into several essential phenomena that are invaluable in the assessment of the “Parthian” monument and its unusual aspects.

Ephesus was the seat of the Proconsul from 29 B.C. on, and thus the capital of the Province of Asia.¹¹² Despite this privileged status, or perhaps even because of it, the city did not have a well-established upper class of its own that would have been able to engage in large-scale urban planning. During the early years of the Principate, moneys for prestigious public buildings poured into the city from foreign benefactors and others who had moved from abroad to make Ephesus their permanent home.¹¹³ Halfmann observes that one reason for the absence of a native and wealthy upper class lay in the maritime economic orientation of Ephesus. The financial strength of the city’s elite was based on trade and thus was more vulnerable to crisis than economies based on large land ownership. A further reason for the limited wealth of the genuinely Ephesian upper class lay in the strong influx of foreign populations, above all those arriving from Italy.¹¹⁴ These citizens determined the economic life of the city and were the initiators of an increase in building activity which reached its first peak under Domitian.¹¹⁵ Under his rule, the municipality itself began to bear the financial responsibility for building projects, a development which Halfmann reads as a sign of increasing prosperity for a larger segment of the population. By the second century A.D., this prosperity had produced a genuinely Ephesian upper class that for the first time had the financial means at its disposal to present itself as the patron of public building.¹¹⁶

This metamorphosis is particularly revealing with regard to the situation in Pergamon. In comparison to Ephesus, the Pergamene society was more conscious of tradition and much more deeply influenced by Greek culture. Political life was dominated by a highly elitist upper class that enjoyed far greater wealth than the citizens of Ephesus.¹¹⁷ In terms of city planning, this was expressed in a focus on preserving the existing structures from the Hellenistic past, a position which only changed in the second century through the building programs of Trajan and Hadrian.

Intense competition existed among the cities of Asia Minor.¹¹⁸ At the beginning of his rule, the emperor Hadrian

was said to have withdrawn his good favor from the city of Ephesus under the influence of the Sophist Antonius Polemo, who lived in Smyrna, and whose rival taught in Ephesus.¹¹⁹ And in fact, under Hadrian, Ephesus shared only a meager amount of the prosperity enjoyed by others of the numerous provincial cities, while Pergamon was built up on a large scale in this period.¹²⁰ Under the rule of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, Ephesus finally began to thrive, and in fact reached the high point of its urban development. Now, for the first time, programs of civic building in Ephesus could compete with those of Pergamon. Furthermore, the rivalry could now be played out by an Ephesian upper class who had set down permanent roots in the city.¹²¹ The families of the Vedii and of Damianus were particularly prominent patrons, one of whom, Halfmann has speculated, may have sponsored the “Parthian” monument.¹²²

The “Parthian” monument was, therefore, erected at a time when Ephesus had the means to compete with Pergamon in its building programs, paired with the financial power from a local upper class that was investing money in prestigious public buildings. Even if these families were partly of Italian origin, they were now members of a society which was oriented toward Greek values. It was, therefore, through these values that rivalry with other Greek cities had to be expressed.

Against this historical background, the battle frieze on the “Parthian” Monument at Ephesus acquires a broader meaning. If indeed the Greek elements within the frieze situate Roman victory in the context of Greek tradition, they also incorporate the local identity of a city historically shaped by Greek culture. The unique details of the imagery in the Ephesus frieze can thus be explained through the particular relationship to the local context. Roman victory is connected to Greek tradition, and that victory in turn strengthens the identity of the province’s Greek population within the Roman empire. It is understandable that this occurred in Ephesus during the rise of an Ephesian upper class that was initially not exclusively Greek and sought adequate means of self-representation. In Ephesus, a local identity could only be rooted in the city’s Greek history. It was here that the rivalry with Pergamon came to play an important role. The Ephesian battle frieze stands in a formal and thematic relationship to the older monument of its rival city: by emulating the Pergamon Altar and incorporating some of its iconographic elements, the monument at Ephesus embodies the hope of creating a contemporary monument that could compete with it.

One can glean yet another message operating through the images in the battle relief that is also related to its particular locality. This may be deduced from the larger visual program of the monument. The message is that the enduring survival of Greek culture can be guaranteed only through the supremacy and eternal triumph of Rome. The local Greek identity can indeed only realize its full potential within the Roman empire. The battle frieze is one sequence in a larger context, in which scenes of adoption, apotheosis of the emperor, divine assembly,

and the chariot rides of Apollo/Helios and Artemis/Selene celebrate the continuity of imperial rule and elevate it to a cosmic dimension. These images – in particular the scene of adoption and sacrifice – make more explicit reference to Roman precedents. At the same time, other scenes in the frieze also underscore the connection to the local identities: the personifications of cities or – as recently suggested by Alice Landskron – of provinces.¹²³

The personifications do not show subjugated peoples, but portray the cities or provinces as integral parts of the Roman empire.¹²⁴ While we cannot go into the details of this interpretation here, it is important to point out a general connection. The visual contrast between representations of cities or provinces within the Roman empire and images of the battle against foreign enemies has a precedent in the narrative system of Trajan's Column.¹²⁵ Here, the Second Dacian War begins with a detailed description of the emperor's travels through the provinces of the empire.¹²⁶ Although he was apparently in a hurry, as the images show, the emperor did not fail to make sacrifices to the gods with local populations at every stage of his journey. Thus, there emerges a highly differentiated picture: in one scene, the emperor makes a sacrifice in a city strongly shaped by Greek culture before a group in traditional Greek clothing; in the next, he is received by a group of Dacians. The Dacians portrayed here live within the Roman empire, while in the subsequent scene, the emperor wages a decisive and victorious war against Dacians outside the empire. These images formulate the idea that successfully incorporating provincial populations into the empire constitutes the basis for success in external wars. At the same time, they make it clear that the different cultures under Roman rule, each with its own cities and rituals of sacrifice, can still thrive within the empire.¹²⁷ The enemy is not the Dacians themselves – people with whom the emperor indeed offers sacrifices to the gods – but rather the specific Dacians who oppose Roman rule.

In precisely this sense, the dividing lines in the battle frieze at Ephesus do not only run between Rome and the Orient. Rather, they run between the world that accepts Rome and the world that opposes Rome. Thus, it is altogether possible for the Greco-Roman world to contain Oriental elements. If the Roman field commander in Scene 67 (Fig. 16.3. R4) wears the same trousers as his Oriental adversary, this is to be understood here to represent the diversity of the Roman empire. Although the Parthian empire is always potentially and indeed fundamentally an enemy, handed down from the Greek past, the enemy is not the individual Orientals but only those who resist Roman rule. As “barbarians”, they will be conquered.

The Battle Frieze does not offer adequate evidence for a conclusive dating of the “Parthian” Monument at Ephesus. Its messages are more expressive of general principles than they are concretely historical. Therefore, the frieze does not necessarily depict the Parthian wars of Lucius Verus, and could also be dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius as Liverani has suggested.¹²⁸ Nevertheless,

the frieze is a valuable historical source. By forging a link between the Roman victory over the “barbarian” Orient and the Greek tradition, it anchored and strengthened Greek identity: here specifically within the Ephesian upper class, but also for the Greek population at large within the Roman empire.¹²⁹

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The manuscript was essentially completed in 2005. Literature that has appeared since then could only be taken into account to a very limited degree. This is particularly true of the article by Alice Landskron, “Das ‘Partherdenkmal’ von Ephesos” (Landskron 2006a), in which she comes to similar conclusions, as well as different papers in the conference proceedings edited by Wilfried Seipel (Seipel 2006). The book by W. Oberleitner, *Das Partherdenkmal von Ephesos*, Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums, vol. 11, 2008, appeared too late to be considered here.

Notes

- 1 For summary of research history see: Oberleitner 1999a, 619–621; Jobst 2005, 171–173.
- 2 Oberleitner 1995.
- 3 Oberleitner 1978.
- 4 Oberleitner 1978, 93; 1999a, 619.
- 5 Cf. Ganschow 1986; Oberleitner 1999b; Fuchs 2002/03, 18–19, incl. n. 86.
- 6 On the concepts of the “Oriental” and the “Barbarian”, infra 204, incl. n. 63.
- 7 Cf. Knibbe 1991; Nollé 2003.
- 8 Oberleitner 1978, 93–94, fig. 72–73.
- 9 Cf. Jobst 1985, 81 fig. 3; Ganschow 1986, fig. 3; Jobst 1990, fig. 1; Liverani 1999, pl. 160. 1. On the other hand, there is no secure proof for the existence of a direct parallel with the architecture of the Pergamon altar, as Oberleitner suggests in his older reconstructions: cf. Jobst 2005, 173–174. 176. See also Thür and Pyszkowski-Wyzykowski 2006, who also consider further building forms to be possible.
- 10 Cf. the different proposals for the ancient site: Jobst 1985; Ganschow 1986, 209–210; Jobst 1990; Knibbe 1991; Engelmann 1993, 110; Hueber 1997a, 262–264; 1997b, 83–90, fig. 104–108; Jobst 2005, 175–176; Thür and Pyszkowski-Wyzykowski. 2006. Cf. Oberleitner 1999a, 631. For the reuse in late antiquity see Bauer 1996, 281–283.
- 11 Oberleitner 1978, 78–79, cat. no. 61, fig. 58; Hannestad 1988, fig. 126; Kleiner 1992, fig. 279; Oberleitner 2006, 16 Abb. 5.
- 12 Oberleitner 1978, 68–69, fig. 50; Oberleitner 1999a, pl. 154.3; Oberleitner 2006.
- 13 For different opinions cf. Fuchs (2002/03, 16–17) contra Liverani (1996/97, 155–157).
- 14 Eichler 1940; 1971; Oberleitner 1978; Kleiner 1992, 309–312; Oberleitner 1995; 1999a; Jobst 2005, 178. Cf. also Fuchs 2002/03.

- 15 Oberleitner 1978, 72–73, fig. 52; 83–87 cat. no. 69–76, fig. 63–65; 1999a, 626.
- 16 Eichler 1940, 492–493; Eichler 1971, 112–114, fig. 14. Cf. Oberleitner 1978, 89–90, cat. no. 82, fig. 69; Kleiner 1992, fig. 281.
- 17 Oberleitner 1978, 87–88, cat. no. 78, fig. 67; Oberleitner 1999a, 629; Laubenberger 1999, 649.
- 18 Oberleitner 1999a, 619. Numerous modified versions of this thesis have been proposed: Engemann 1999; Fuchs 2002/03, 23–28.
- 19 Oberleitner 1999a, 622; for additional connections to Ephesus, cf. Fuchs 2002/03, 20–21.
- 20 Scott Ryberg 1955, 133–134; Brilliant 1963, 137–138; Vermeule 1968, 96–97; Hannestad 1988, 201–204. Cf. also Alexandridis 2004, 185–186, n. 3.
- 21 Liverani 1995, 1996/97, 1999.
- 22 Liverani 1995, 235–236; 1996/97, 155–157; 1999, 640.
- 23 Liverani 1996/97, 167; 1999, 642; already discussed by Scott Ryberg 1955, 134.
- 24 Meyer 2006.
- 25 Liverani 1995, 236; 1996/97, 109, 172; 1999, 639, 643.
- 26 Liverani 1995, 237–242; 1999, 639, 643–644. Liverani (1995, 241–242) sees a possible connection between the city personifications and the earthquake that destroyed parts of Asia Minor between 142 and 144. Antoninus Pius is said to have supported reconstruction with great fervor (Paus. 8,43,4). Since one of the few reliably identified personifications on the frieze is Alexandria, which lay outside the area affected by the earthquake, the connection cannot have been particularly strong – as Liverani himself emphasizes.
- 27 Liverani 1995, 235–236; 1996/97, 155, 159, 161; 1999, 640.
- 28 Cf. the articles by Oberleitner (1999a) and Liverani (1999) in the same volume.
- 29 Taeuber 2006, Chausson 2006, Landskron 2006a, Landskron 2006b argue for an early dating.
- 30 Oberleitner (1978, 92–93) points out the various compositional schemes. Because of the way the surface is handled and the use of a drilling technique in numerous places, Oberleitner nevertheless dates the work to the second half of the second century A.D. Cf. Oberleitner 2006, 13. Liverani (1995, 235; 1999, 640), by contrast, considers the very weakly defined drill-holes as evidence that the work is dateable to the period of transition from Hadrian to Antoninus Pius.
- 31 Alexandridis 2004, 185–186, cat. no. 184; 192, cat. no. 198; Fittschen 2006. Faustina Major is not, however, as Liverani (1995, 235–236; 1996/97, 155, 159, 161; 1999, 640) and Jobst (2005, 178) suggest, represented here as a *diva*. Cf. Fuchs 2002/03, 17–18; Alexandridis 2004, 42, 65, 91. For the representation of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus see also Fittschen 1999, 15, no. A 29; 16, n. 125; 17–21, 37.
- 32 Cf. K. Fittschen, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 236, 1984, 205 no. 59; Fittschen 2006, 81–3.
- 33 Supporters of a later date have emphasized that the boy Lucius Verus is such a prominent focus of the adoption scene that he must hold central importance for the monument as a whole. Precisely this idea has, however, been called into question: Liverani 1995, 235; 1996/97, 159; 1999, 640. While Antoninus Pius' hand does indeed rest on the boy's shoulder as a sign of connection (cf. also Fuchs 2002/03, 16), Hadrian's right hand partially obstructs his face. Also the boy appears slightly squeezed between the two emperors. This should not be overemphasized, since here the relief does not prioritize. Liverani's view that Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus are depicted "in secondo piano" has, however, been refuted convincingly by Fuchs (2002/03, 16).
- 34 Oberleitner 1978, 70–71, 81–83.
- 35 Oberleitner 1978, 70–71; Ganschow 1986, 216. Cf. also Stähler 1987, 108–109.
- 36 Oberleitner 1978, 70–71, 82–83, no. 66; Ganschow 1986, fig. 1.
- 37 *Infra* 204.
- 38 Cf. Krierer 1995, pl. 51. 178.
- 39 Cf. Krierer 1995, 105.
- 40 Krierer 1995, pl. 50. 173; 51. 177.
- 41 Oberleitner 1978, 83, no. 67.
- 42 Landskron (2001, 127, incl. n. 70) describes them as *mullei* that elevate the representation into a heroic realm. Cf. Goette 1988, 401–448; Landskron 2006a, 150.
- 43 Oberleitner 1978, 83, no. 68.
- 44 Oberleitner 1978, 70, fig. 51; 81–82, no. 65.
- 45 For this scene, see also Landskron 2006a, 146–147. Two more fragments were situated by Oberleitner (1978, 70–71) in the battle frieze: the back of an armored Roman horseman and the fragment of another horseman's leg who was facing in the opposite direction, moving from right to left. He probably was part of a panel on the far right edge that would absorb the dynamics of the frieze through a counter-movement. Further fragments have been preserved in the depots in Vienna, Selcuk and London, British Museum: Oberleitner 1978, 83. Cf. also Oberleitner 1996.
- 46 Oberleitner 1978, 66–67; Stähler 1987, 110; Fuchs 2002/03, 19–20. On Oriental clothing: Schneider 1986, 19; 1998, 100–102, 104–106; Landskron 2005, 57–92.
- 47 On the Phrygian cap: Schneider 1986, 123–124, incl. n. 866; Landskron 2005, 149.
- 48 Cf. Schneider 1986, 123–124, pl. 24; Landskron 2005, 59–61.
- 49 Stähler 1987; Fuchs 2002/03, 19–21.
- 50 On the Parthian wars: Stähler 1987, 107–108; Millar 1993, 111–118; Strobel 1994, 1317–1324.
- 51 Stähler 1987, 113–114.
- 52 Stähler 1987, 113–114; Fuchs 2002/03, 20.
- 53 Cf. also Landskron 2005, 128–129; Landskron 2006a, 144–154.
- 54 Landskron 2001; 2005, 126–129; Landskron 2006a, 144.
- 55 Schneider 1998, 97–102, 104–106. See also *infra*, n. 63.
- 56 Examples have been compiled by Rolf Schneider (1986, 19). He emphasizes that this was not intended to portray specific ethnic groups but Orientals *per se*. Cf. also Landskron 2005, 205–210.
- 57 Schneider 1986, 125–128, 204, no. SO 27, pl. 35. 2, 4; 1998, pl. 13. 3; Landskron 2005, 81–82.
- 58 Schneider 1998, 105.
- 59 Cf. also Landskron 2001, 121, 127; 2005, 126–129.
- 60 Cf. Hannestad 1988, 158–163, fig. 98, 103; 236–244, fig. 146, 149; Kleiner 1992, fig. 267.
- 61 Gemma Augustea: Cf. Hannestad 1988, fig. 51; Kleiner 1992, fig. 47. Trajan's Colonnade: Cf. Cichorius 1896–1900, scenes 24, 38, 42, 66, 70, 72, 108. Cf. Dacians naked above the waist: scene 24. Column of Marcus Aurelius: Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, 321, fig. 361; Hannestad 1988, fig. 145–147.
- 62 Cf. Krierer 1995.
- 63 In the view of Landskron 2001, 122–123. On the terms

- “barbarians” and “Orientals” from a Roman point of view, cf. Hölscher 2003, 10: “... Rome was seen as the centre of the world between two extreme poles. These poles were supposed to delimit the whole universe, and they had therefore to stand themselves in opposition to each other. The result was a configuration of northern and western barbarians on the one hand and orientals on the other.”
- 64 Andreae 1956, pl. 1–4; 1982, 249, fig. 502; 1990, pl. 43, 3; Kleiner 1992, fig. 228; Marszal 2000, fig. 78. Cf. Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 91.
 - 65 Andreae 1956, 74–83; 1990, 97, incl. n. 204; cf. Schalles 1985, 108 n. 651; Schäfer 1986, 359–362; Marszal 2000, 210–211.
 - 66 Marszal 2000, 219.
 - 67 On the frieze in Mantova: Hölscher 1987, pl. 1.3; Kleiner 1992, 86–87, fig. 66; Marszal 2000, 219. The frieze in La Granja: Schäfer 1986. On the sarcophagi in general: Koch and Sichtermann, 1982, 90–92; Krierer 1995, 210–215. Cf. also a three-sided marble block with relief surfaces from Trier: Krierer 1995, 109–110, pl. 56. 193–195. See also small-format bronzes: Kreilinger 1996, pl. 23, cat. no. 76.
 - 68 Compare the centauromachy from the temple of Apollo at Bassai/Phigaleia: Stewart, 1990, fig. 453.
 - 69 *Infra* 207–209.
 - 70 Oberleitner 1978, 82. Cf. Jobst 2005, 178.
 - 71 Stähler 1987, 114
 - 72 Fuchs 2002/03, 19–20.
 - 73 LIMC V, 1990, 498–502 s.v. Honos (C. Lochin).
 - 74 Honos is portrayed with the emperor in his triumphal procession (LIMC V, 1990, 499–500, no. 13–18) or belongs in some other way to the imperial entourage (LIMC V, 1990, 500–501, no. 19–28).
 - 75 Cichorius 1896–1900, scene 24; Hannestad 1988, fig. 103, 145
 - 76 Stähler 1987, 114.
 - 77 Ridgway 1997, pl. 1.
 - 78 Dreyfus and Schraudolph 1996, 62, cat. no. 6; Heilmeyer 1997, 154, cat. no. 22.
 - 79 Yaylali 1976; Davesne 1982; Ridgway 1990b, 155–156, pl. 73; 2000, 107–109, pl. 35.
 - 80 Greeks in armor: Yaylali 1976, pl. 3.2; 5.2 et al.; Davesne 1982, 26–29, fig. 6–10, no. 2, 4; 70, fig. 45, no. 1; 72–75, fig. 46, 48–49, no. 5 et al.
 - 81 Yaylali 1976, pl. 4.1; 5.1; 6.1; 17.1; 18.1–2; 23.1 et al.; Davesne 1982, 30, fig. 11, no. 9; 38, fig. 16, no. 1; 42, fig. 18, no. 1; 44 fig. 19, no. 2; 46–47, fig. 20–21, no. 3; 50, fig. 23, no. 5; 58, fig. 33, no. 10; 62, fig. 36, no. 1; 67–69, fig. 42–44, no. 3; 72–74, fig. 46–47, no. 2; 98–100, fig. 71, 74–75, no. 3; 121–122, fig. 100–101, no. 2; 127–130, fig. 106–108, no. 1, 4 et al.
 - 82 These exceptional cases include reliefs of the early imperial ages in Praeneste and in La Granja as well as small-format bronzes and later Roman sarcophagi. Summarized in: Kreilinger 1996, 47–48, incl. n. 250. Cf. also the Basilica Aemilia frieze with mythological scenes like the punishment of Tarpeia: Kleiner 1992, 89, fig. 70.
 - 83 Hölscher 1987, 29–33.
 - 84 *Supra* 205 incl. n. 64–65.
 - 85 Cf. on this point also Stähler 1987, 111–113; Landskron 2005, 127. Jobst (2005, 178–179) denies a specific connection between the images of the “Parthian” monument and the frieze from the altar of Pergamon, referring to exactly that sort of general Hellenistic sources of Roman battle representations. However, these Hellenistic sources of Roman battle representations are not sufficient to explain the specific features of the “Parthian” monument. In that case, we are exclusively dealing with visual connections. This does not mean that the monument as a whole, i.e. in its form, function etc., is to be equated with the altar of Pergamon.
 - 86 Andreae 1956, 56–65; 104–109 with a list of examples. Comparable groups can also be found on the Roman battle sarcophagi: Andreae 1956, fig. 1–3; Koch and Sichtermann 1982, fig. 74–75. Cf. small-format bronzes: Kreilinger 1996, pl. 23–24.
 - 87 Stähler 1987, 112.
 - 88 Kähler 1948, pl. 12.
 - 89 Kähler 1948, pl. 16; Ridgway 2000, pl. 14.
 - 90 Kähler 1948, pl. 1–3, 18; Pollitt 1986, fig. 99, 100, 104, 107; Ridgway 2000, pl. 11.
 - 91 Kähler 1948, 42–44; Stähler 1987, 112.
 - 92 Cf. Krierer 1995; Landskron 2005, 208–209.
 - 93 Kähler 1948, pl. 7; Pollitt, 1986, fig. 103; Ridgway 2000, pl. 13.
 - 94 Hölscher 1987, 20–29. Cf. especially the great Trajan battle frieze: Leander Touati 1987, pl. 1–4.
 - 95 Cf. Schalles 1985, pl. 3–6; Pollitt 1986, fig. 85–86; Ridgway 1990b, pl. 141–143. The theme of suicide also occurs on Trajan’s Column surrounding the death of Decebalos: Cichorius 1896–1900, scene 145; Hannestad 1985, fig. 101; Kleiner 1992, fig. 181.
 - 96 Kähler 1948, pl. 7, 17; Pollitt 1986, fig. 103, 106; Ridgway 2000, pl. 13.
 - 97 Cf. Hölscher 1987, 29–33; 2003, 4–7.
 - 98 On this and the following, cf.: Spawforth, 1994, 233–247; Schneider 1998, 97, 103, 110–113; Landskron 2005, 32–48.
 - 99 Schneider 1986, 18–97; Spawforth 1994, 238; Schneider 1998, 97–106; Landskron 2005, 39–41.
 - 100 Schneider 1986, 94. Cf. Spawforth 1994, 243–247.
 - 101 Cf. for a general discussion: Hall 1989, 56–100; Georges 1994; Nippel 1996, 165–196, esp. 175–180; Hölscher 2000c, 300–305.
 - 102 Hölscher 2000c, 303.
 - 103 Schneider and Höcker 1990, 185.
 - 104 Summarized: Schneider and Höcker 1990, 158; Stewart 1990, 154–155.
 - 105 Schalles 1985, 106–115, 148; 1986, 16–21; Pollitt 1986, 83–110; Marszal 2000, 204–212.
 - 106 Hölscher (2000c, 304–305) refers to the transformation of the “barbarian” and Greek self-representation associated with the shift from the Persians to the Gauls.
 - 107 von Salis 1912, 20–21; Schalles 1986, 20–21; Radt 1999, 175–176.
 - 108 A reductionist reading of the images, resulting in a simple equation of Giants with Gauls, is certainly to be avoided: Cf. Radt 1999, 176, Maderna-Lauter 2000, 454–456; Junker 2003b, 428–443.
 - 109 Maderna-Lauter 2000, 456.
 - 110 Junker 2003b, 443.
 - 111 Halfmann 2001. Cf. esp. 97.
 - 112 For a summary of the history of Epheus: Oberleitner 1978, 11–25; Hueber 1997a; Hueber 1997b, 46–53.
 - 113 Halfmann 2001, 21–33, 97.
 - 114 This foreign population may have benefited from the circumstances in Ephesus, in which large areas of land within the city walls were still undeveloped at the beginning

- of the Principate and thus available for building: Hueber 1997a, 257–260; Halfmann 2001, 98.
- 115 Dräger 1993, 150–174; Halfmann 2001, 36–44, 98.
- 116 Halfmann 2001, 63–83, 98.
- 117 Halfmann 2001, 11–21, 45–62, 100–104.
- 118 For the competition among the cities of Pergamon, Ephesus, and Smyrna in the Flavian period cf. Dräger 1993, 107–200.
- 119 Philostrat soph. 531; Halfmann 2001, 73.
- 120 Halfmann 2001, 55–62, 73–76.
- 121 Halfmann 2001, 75–83.
- 122 Halfmann 2001, 82.
- 123 Landskron 2002; Landskron 2006b. Cf. Matthaei 2007.
- 124 Cf. Liverani 1995, 237–242; 1999, 639, 645.
- 125 For a detailed discussion of this and the following, see: Winkler in: Baumer, Hölscher and Winkler 1992, 271–277.
- 126 Cichorius 1896–1900, scenes 79–91, 97–99.
- 127 It finds expression as well in the conception of the *salus generis humani* which broadens the scope of the *salus populi romani*. Cf. Winkler 1995, 76–79.
- 128 This ultimately raises the following question: Does this work generalize upon a concrete event, thus transcending the historical dimension and rendering its content timeless? If so, this would favor a date within the period of Lucius Verus. Or, do the battle scenes reflect a fundamental Roman attitude that was demonstrably virulent throughout all periods? This would permit it to be dated in the time of Antoninus Pius. Answers to these questions cannot be derived from the “Parthian” Monument itself, but must be worked out in the context of a broader discussion.
- 129 The unique features of Roman art in local contexts in the eastern half of the empire, and thus the mixture of Greek and Roman elements, are not isolated phenomena but evident on other monuments as well. One may recall, for example, the imperial reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias (cf. Smith 1987). The “Parthian” Monument itself is also worthy of more extensive discussion (cf. also Matthaei 2007). An investigation of these is planned to take place in the framework of a broader study.

Abbreviations

In addition to those works whose abbreviation are listed on the website of the American Journal of Archaeology (<http://www.ajaonline.org/index.php?ptype=page&pid=8>), the following publications are abbreviated in the endnotes:

CorVP = Amyx, D.A. 1988. *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

ID = Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fonds d'Épigraphie Grecque and Fondation du Duc de Loubat, *Inscriptions de Délos*, ed. A. Plassart and F. Durrbach. Paris: de Boccard.

IvPr = Gaertringen, F. Hiller von 1906. *Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin: Reimer.

Olympia II = Adler, F. et al., *Die Baudenkmäler von Olympia*. Olympia: die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung 2. Berlin: Asher.

Olympia V = Dittenberger, W. and K. Purgold 1896. *Die Inschriften von Olympia*. Olympia: die Ergebnisse der

von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung 5. Berlin: Asher.

Olynthus X = Robinson, D. 1941. *Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds*. Excavations at Olynthus 10. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

PCcF = Bowra, C.M. 1968. *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

PCG = Kassel, R. and C. Austin 1986. *Poetae Comici Graeci*. New York: de Gruyter.

PMG = Page, D.L. 1962. *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

POxy = Grenfell, B.P. and A.S. Hunt 1898. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. London: The Egypt Exploration Fund.

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